



Daily Report

East Europe

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Inter-European Affairs

A joint communique was adopted at the close of the "Visegrad G-3" summit in Prague on 6 May. According to the Hungarian press agency MTI, the document states that "cooperation between the three countries," Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, "will provide a new framework for Central European relations." These relations will be based on "common traditions and characteristics, similar efforts at establishing democracy and a market economy," and the "mutual desire for full participation in European integration." MTI reports that "particular attention" was placed on "developing economic relations, establishing a free-trade zone, and fostering direct contacts between their citizens." In the communique, the three countries "reaffirmed their resolve to help establish a new security system in Europe," supported "accelerating and deepening European integration," and "confirmed a mutual interest in using their association agreements with the EC to prepare for full membership in the European Union." Regarding NATO, the communique calls for raising relations "to a qualitatively new level" and emphasizes that the long-term aim of the G-3 countries is "to become full members of NATO." The three countries "remain convinced" about the need to continue the UN peace conference on Yugoslavia and believe that a peaceful settlement of the conflict is in "the vital interests of peace and stability in the whole of Europe."

Croatia

Commenting on the latest round of talks held in Brussels, President Franjo Tudjman expressed optimism about progress made during the conference. Zagreb Radio quotes Tudjman as saying that the peace plan "will be achieved." Tudjman considers statements made by Milosevic and Bulatovic asserting that the new federal Yugoslavia will contribute to peace in the region as an "admission that they will have to withdraw from the other parts." Tudjman stated that Serbia's "decision to leave the former Yugoslav Army to Bosnia-Herzegovina and to recall their citizens—regardless of all the traps it conceals—also is in line with the obvious admission that they no longer can wage a war of aggression."

Poland

PAP reports Finance Minister Andrzej Olechowski submitted his resignation, declaring that it was "an expression of protest against the way public finances were treated in Poland and was not a gesture directed against Premier Jan Olszewski." Olszewski has accepted the finance minister's resignation. PAP reports the resignation "became inevitable when the Sejm (lower house) failed...to overturn two verdicts from the constitutional tribunal concerning payment revaluations for public-sector employees and pensioners." Olechowski said the Sejm's decision will cost 20-30 trillion zlotys (\$1.5-2.2 billion). Prime Minister Olszewski stated Olechowski had agreed to continue in a caretaker role until a successor is found.

'Visegrad Triangle' Group Concludes Summit**Foreign Minister Talks Reported**

*LD0605150992 Warsaw PAP in English
2248 GMT 5 May 92*

[Text] Prague, May 5—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and foreign ministers of the other two Visegrad Triangle members, Czechoslovakia, Jiri Dienstbier, and Hungary, Geza Jeszenszky, met their EC counterparts from The Netherlands, Hans van den Broek, Portugal, Joao de Deus Pinheiro, and the United Kingdom, Douglas Hurd, in Prague on Tuesday to discuss the cooperation between the Triangle and the EC after signing the accord treaties.

The ministers also discussed the situation in former Soviet Union and in former Yugoslavia. Zdeniek Zikmund of Czechoslovak press department said that the Triangle members confirmed the intention to use the maximum of opportunities offered by the accord treaties.

In a joint statement issued in Prague, the participants condemned the use of force in Bosnia and Hercegovina. They called on all the conflicting sides to press for a ceasefire and demanded withdrawal of the Yugoslav Federal Army from the area involved in the conflict.

Jiri Dienstbier told a press conference that participants in the meeting hoped EC and Triangle parliaments would soon ratify the accord treaties and they discussed the participation of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary in the EC summit planned for Edinburgh later this year.

Hans van den Broek of The Netherlands said EC countries regard the Triangle as European partners with whom they want to have an intensive dialogue. Asked whether the three countries should apply for EC membership together or separately, Van den Broek replied that this is up to them.

All the participants found the conference as a very good start for a high-level political dialogue.

Meeting Concludes

*LD0605172992 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko
Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 6 May 92*

[Report by correspondents David Stahlavsky and Zita Finkova]

[Excerpts] [Finkova] At the end of the Visegrad Troika summit today, Vaclav Havel, Lech Walesa, and Jozsef Antall adopted a joint declaration giving their views on relations with the EC, NATO, and other international organizations. They also approved a message to the Council of Europe and the G-7 group and a joint statement on Macedonia expressing the Troika's readiness to recognize it as an independent state.

Foreign ministers of the Visegrad Troika issued a joint statement on borderland cooperation, cooperation with the Council of Europe, and cooperation with the Benelux countries.

The summit of the countries of Central Europe took as its aim the continuing establishment of a new economic order in the Central and East European region. Following the demise of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, bodies which made natural integration with other parts of the continent impossible, all three participants take as their foremost current task the full integration of all three subjects into European political, economic, and security systems.

[Stahlavsky] Vaclav Havel briefly summed up for the journalists today's talks with Lech Walesa and Jozsef Antall. He also spoke about the talks with the delegations of the three nations that followed. Havel confirmed that the most important issue was the relationship between the Visegrad Troika and the EC. [passage omitted]

Vaclav Havel said that Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary will jointly apply to become EC members. The specific date and steps taken will be agreed at the levels of the two groups.

The goal of the Visegrad Troika is the achievement of NATO and West European Union membership from the long-term point of view. The coordination of the joint policies of the three states also covered the CSCE. The representatives of Poland and Hungary expressed their support for the Czechoslovak idea of associate CSCE membership for Japan. It will be in the CSCE that the Visegrad Troika will raise the issue of forming CSCE peace units, with the possible use of NATO units.

President Havel said at the conclusion of his speech that the Visegrad Troika is a regional activity significant not just for its members, but also for security and cooperation within the whole of Europe.

The summit's aim, therefore, was not the adoption of specific decisions, said President Lech Walesa, who was uncharacteristically brief today. Similar to previous meetings, Walesa said, in Prague the main aim was to strengthen the system of cooperation between the three neighboring states; this must be built from below. The top representatives are merely securing the system's framework by demolishing political barriers. The specific content of cooperation depends on businessmen, firms, and the people. The borderland contacts between Czechoslovakia and Poland can serve as an example. There were no problems, other than economic, hindering such contacts. Walesa went on to say that these problems will be resolved by the end of the century.

President Havel added that his Polish counterpart has promised to do his utmost to set up an important border crossing at the Czech, German, and Polish crossroads.

[Finkova] The Visegrad Troika summit does not seek to establish a new kind of pact or a new CEMA. It aims at

consultations, specific initiatives, and the resolution of joint problems; for example the dispute over the hydropower project Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros. According to President Vaclav Havel, it would help if this issue could be depoliticized.

It is necessary to improve the quality of borderland contact, to remove trade barriers, and to seek common interests and the possibilities for triangular operations. In other words, it is necessary to spell out what the joint contribution to the unified Europe will be.

Joint Communiqué Adopted

*LD0605181292 Budapest MTI in English
1627 GMT 6 May 92*

[Text] Prague, May 6 (MTI)—The summit of the 'Visegrad G-3' ended in Prague today when the three countries, leaders adopted a joint communiqué.

The document, approved by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, Polish President Lech Walesa and Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, states that cooperation between the three countries will provide a new framework for Central European relations based on common traditions and characteristics, similar efforts at establishing democracy and a market economy, and their mutual desire for full participation in European integration.

The three regard cooperation as a stabilizing force in Eastern and Central Europe.

The three sides placed particular attention on developing economic relations, establishing a free-trade zone, and fostering direct contacts between their citizens.

They also reaffirmed their resolve to help establish a new security system in Europe which will be based on efficient, co-ordinated and complementary cooperation between the existing European and transatlantic institutions, such as the European Communities, NATO, the Western European Union, the Council of Europe, and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The three countries support accelerating and deepening European integration, but emphasize that the deepening and extension should be compatible with one another.

They confirmed a mutual interest in using their association agreements with the EC to prepare for full membership in the European Union. The Visegrad G-3 has called upon European parliaments from the 12 EC member states and EC bodies concerned to ratify their association agreements by the end of the year.

If this is possible, all three countries could become associate members of the EC effective January 1, 1993.

The three countries expect the June 26-27 Lisbon session of the Council of Europe to promote developing integrated relations and cooperation between the European Communities and the Visegrad three.

During the Prague Summit, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland decided to make co-ordinated steps at establishing political dialogues with the EC, and at expressing their interest in cooperating with the European union on foreign and security policy matters. They confirmed their mutual interest in establishing institutional relations with the Western European Union, and said they consider such ties to be a transitional phase to membership.

The three countries expressed their convictions that maintaining NATO and a sustained North American presence in Europe is of utmost importance in keeping stability, balance and security in Europe.

Relations between the G-3 and NATO should be raised to a qualitatively new level, according to the communiqué.

The three countries also emphasized their long-term aim: To become full members of NATO.

The Visegrad countries confirmed the CSCE's determining role in establishing a united and free Europe. They support creating CSCE mechanisms, such as monitoring, to prevent and settle conflicts.

They are convinced that the time is ripe to set up CSCE peacekeeping forces, and they would welcome the opportunity to use the means and mechanisms of NATO and the Western European Union for CSCE peacekeeping purposes.

The Visegrad G-3 supports the Council of Europe's efforts at extending its activities to the new independent states which have not yet been admitted to the EC.

Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland are prepared to increase their participation in international assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States, so as to contribute to stabilization.

They expect the Lisbon Conference on May 23-24, and the Munich G-7 summit on July 6-8, to promote their stepped-up involvement in assistance through trilateral transactions.

The Visegrad G-3 is pressing the Soviet Union's successor states to agree to share mutual obligations stemming from the treaty on reducing conventional arms in Europe, and to ratify the treaty as soon as possible. They are calling upon these states to make every possible effort at preventing the proliferation of nuclear arms.

Participants in the Prague summit discussed the situation which has emerged on former Yugoslav territory. Expressing their deep concern over the foment of more armed conflicts and nationalist violence, the participants agreed that these actions prevent settling the conflict politically.

The three countries remain convinced about the need to continue the UN peace conference, and about efforts from both the CSCE and UN—since the settlement of

the conflict lies in the vital interests of peace and stability in the whole of Europe.

Leaders Hold News Conference

LD0605210792 Budapest MTI in English
1931 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Prague, May 6 (MTI)—After the Visegrad G-3 summit meeting on Wednesday, Vaclav Havel, Lech Walesa and Jozsef Antall held an international press conference in the Hradcany.

Later on, the Hungarian prime minister gave a separate interview to Hungarian journalists.

President Havel announced that the three countries have agreed to present a joint application for full membership into the European Community. When they will make this step is a matter for further negotiations, he added.

During the summit meeting, the Czechoslovak side suggested that Japan join the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as an associate member.

Both Walesa and Antall supported a motion to discuss this issue at an appropriate CSCE forum.

In reply to a question about the Gabcikovo Power Plant, the prime minister said the Hungarian Government was bound by a parliamentary decision, namely that the 1977 inter-state agreement should be cancelled.

He added that 'we seek to find a solution to this issue which doesn't disturb the more comprehensive Visegrad agreement. Hungary accepts the position of the European Community, and holds the view that issues of interpretation raised by Slovakia should be discussed in the presence of EC officials', Antall said.

The issues are connected with the EC's condition that it will only make recommendations if neither party carries out works that create a fait accompli, limiting the scope

of a final decision. According to Slovakia, work done on the Slovak side of the Danube does not exclude EC specialists.

In contrast, Hungary argues that implementing the so-called 'C' version (which involves diverting the Danube, causing major ecological damage) is wholly unacceptable.

During the press conference, Antall confirmed that the 'C' version would be incompatible with any international agreement.

Asked why the Hungarian-Czechoslovak agreement on goodneighbourly relations and friendly cooperation was not signed during the summit meeting, both Havel and Antall said a bilateral meeting would be more suitable for the purpose.

Havel expressed hopes that Antall would pay an official visit to Czechoslovakia this year. The Hungarian prime minister said he did not think there would be any obstacle to signing the agreement.

Concerning the 'apparent death' of hexagonal cooperation—which involves Hungary, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Poland, Austria, Italy and Yugoslavia—Antall proposed that this form of cooperation should not be 'written off'.

Obviously, there are no large-scale summit meetings if one of the countries (Yugoslavia) is being disintegrated, he said. However, new countries emerging in the region offer a natural chance for cooperation.

After the news conference, Antall told Hungarian journalists that the idea of including Croatia and perhaps the Ukraine was not raised during the summit.

'It is no use extending the troika', he said, referring to the Visegrad three.

The prime minister recalled that close cooperation between Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland is also justified by historical traditions.

At the same time, he emphasized that the three countries seek to expand relations with other states in Central and Eastern Europe.

Berisha Delivers Speech to Council of Europe

AU0705110492 Tirana ATA in English 0759 GMT
7 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 6 (ATA)—In the morning of May 6, the Albanian delegation headed by the president of the Republic, Sali Berisha, started the three days of activities in the Council of Europe. At 10.00 [0800 GMT] Mr. Berisha went to the Palace of Europe, the Seat of the European Council, where he was cordially welcomed at its entrance by the president of the Parliamentary Assembly, Mr. Martinez, the president of the delegate ministers, Mr. Moore, by Mrs. Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general and others.

The meeting of the Albanian head of state, Mr. Berisha with the president of the Parliamentary Assembly, Mr. Martinez was conducted in the office of the president. Our president signed the golden book, which was finally signed by the French president, Mr. Mitterrand, wishing the European Council success and efficient activity. The journalists were not present in this meeting.

At 10.30 Mr. Martinez informed the European parliamentarians in the General Assembly that the president of the Republic of Albania, Mr. Sali Berisha, would honour them with his presence in the just initiated sitting. Meanwhile the parliamentarians stand up and welcome with applause the entry of the high ranking Albanian personality who has the honour to come for the first time in this organisation of the community, which he belongs to. Mr. Berisha enters accompanied by Mrs. Catherine Lalumiere as well as the other members of the Albanian delegation, amongst whom, the Foreign Minister Mr. Alfred Serreqi.

"I have the honour, Mr. Martinez said, to give the floor to the first Albanian president after the free elections in this country."

Taking the floor, accompanied with applause, Mr. Berisha said among others: I avail myself of this visit to express my immense satisfaction for the honour you have made me inviting me to Strasbourg, the city of freedom, implying the unification of Europe. It is a great honour for me, he continued, to speak in front of the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council, which represents and symbolizes the future political unity of our community. It is an honour for me to speak in front of the honourable parliamentarians as representative of one of the most ancient peoples of Europe, who only a month ago through free elections chose finally the road of democracy. Further on, Mr. Berisha made an overview of the developments in Albania in the 90s, which will go down in the [word indistinct] of great transformations, sufferings, victories. Communism has undoubtedly been a most tragic political, economic, and social experience mankind has ever known. It has been characterized by oppression, savageness, and lies. To the country of the Albanians it brought only destruction of the culture and economy. Albania has been transformed from a blessed country into the country of pill boxes, of

hungry children, of people lacking human care, exoduses, anarchy, and organised crime. I spoke of all these, Mr. Berisha continued, to show that the victory of freedom, the setting up of democracy presupposes two moments of an action: the destructive moment and at the same time the constructive one.

We destroyed communism, because we were martyred. This is a destructive moment. We are duty bound to make our democracy go on. This is a constructive moment.

The result of this undertaking is decisive for our future. I hope and believe that the Albanians have realised that work and commitment are the indispensable conditions for setting up a democratic system and state. In the political field, in the building of the state administration, things are different. Therefore, we address the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, all the democracies in Europe and the world to assist and encourage Albania on its road to freedom and democracy.

Later on, Mr. Berisha spoke of the priorities and the developments of the Albanian democratic state, stressing that the final aim is the setting up of a democratic state, where human dimension is the main dimension of policy. The Assembly of the Council of Europe and this council have assisted the democratic forces in the transition stage, but their aid for us is indispensable and we hope it is more important. The setting up of the Albanian democratic state is undoubtedly to the interest of Europe. Then the Albanian president underscored in his speech that the main enemy of democracy at present in Albania is the heritage of the dictatorship we have suffered and pointed to the economic difficulties, the recession of the industrial production, the grave situation in agriculture, transport, the growing inflation, reduction of incomes and spoke of the absurd law of paying the workers with 80 per cent of their wages.

Taking into consideration this situation, he underscored, we are convinced that it is not the shock therapy that might restore financial stability and radically free the Albanian economy.

This is why we call for the assistance of the G-24 so that it accords a humanitarian assistance and food products as long as production is sufficient for the people. We call for technical, financial assistance and organised emigration.

In his speech, Mr. Berisha spoke also of the Albanian issue on the whole pointing to the policy of apartheid pursued by the communist dictator Milosevic towards the Albanians in Kosovo. He also dwelt on the situation of the Albanians in Macedonia. We think that the crisis in Yugoslavia cannot be solved without the recognition of the rights of the Albanians in Kosovo. We are also, he continued, for the independence of the Republic of Macedonia, but it should observe all the freedoms and rights of the Albanians living there.

In conclusion, Mr. Berisha said that we want Albania to join Europe. This is the reason why we knocked at its doors in Strasbourg today. After this address, Mr. Berisha responded to numerous various questions addressed to him by the parliamentarians present in this sitting of the Council of Europe.

The whole day was full of meetings and negotiations. The head of the Albanian state met also with the senior personalities of the General Assembly of the Council of Europe. Meanwhile, President Berisha gave a press conference for the journalists in Strasbourg.

Defense Minister Wants Small, Professional Army

AU0605150592 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian
25 Apr 92 p 1

[Interview with Defense Minister Safet Zhulali by Anton Joro; place and date not given: "The Zhulali Riddle"]

[Text] [Joro] Several Albanian papers have commented on your appointment as defense minister. Was it unexpected, even for you yourself?

[Zhulali] My appointment seemed unexpected. I never thought of holding any post in the government. The party Presidium made the proposal and the Democratic Party National Council approved it. They told me that devotion, honesty, and incorruptibility were sufficient for the new post assigned to me. They told me that I was able to perform this task, even when European countries appoint ordinary civilians to such posts.

[Joro] How do you feel as a minister?

[Zhulali] I am well, and very busy.

[Joro] What do you think of the attacks made against you by some papers?

[Zhulali] They do not disturb me at all, and I do not intend to ever answer them. I am very much involved in work, and if I perform it well, this will be the proper answer.

[Joro] What do you think will be the priorities in restructuring the Albanian Army?

[Zhulali] It is necessary to send the Army back to the barracks and concentrate on its personnel. The division into 1,500 military units has damaged the Army. Soldiers were not involved in training, but in performing duties. This concentration should be carried out as economically as possible and use should be made of former state premises and facilities.

We intend to restructure the Army on the basis of big joint units. At the same time, concentration of the Army is related to political developments at home and in the region. We should reduce the number of officers and military servicemen. This will not only reduce expenses,

but also help the Army adapt to the country's dimensions, political structures, and strategy. Our long-term strategy is to move toward having a professional army.

[Joro] What do you intend to do with the military bureaucracy? Is there any room for restructuring in the Defense Ministry's staff?

[Zhulali] It is already known that we will reduce staffing in order to permit Army reform. We are expecting to approve a law allowing servicemen to retire early at age 50. I personally think that ability should be the basic criterion in selecting military staff.

Concerning the second part of your question, I can say that many people from this ministry will help us, but the ministry's staff will undergo radical changes. These changes should be carefully carried out, in a human way.

[Joro] What do you think will be done with former commissars?

[Zhulali] Those commissars with professional qualifications will be kept according to their abilities. The others will be transferred to social assistance or will retire.

[Joro] Long ago the defense of the homeland was equated with defense of the Marxist-Leninist cause, under the slogan that Albania was the sole socialist country in the world. Whereas today, an ideological void has been created in the Army. How will you fill this void?

[Zhulali] We are already making changes in the programs for soldiers' education. Of course patriotic upbringing with love for the homeland will be fundamental. We will make an effort to take experience from other armies, regarding teaching methods for the problem in question. I am of the opinion that we should refresh the education sector with historians, ethnographers, and writers.

[Joro] Our country feels the need of technical aid from abroad in many fields. Foreign specialists and consultants have been attached to several ministries and institutions. Do you think that this can also be done with the Defense Ministry?

[Zhulali] Certainly. We will ask for experts and consultants in those matters that interest us. We have already begun cooperation in this field. Military servicemen have been attached to the diplomatic missions of the United States, Italy, Turkey, and Greece in Tirana. Hungary, Austria, and Germany will soon do the same.

We have signed agreements to send our military staff for study abroad. Several of our specialists will soon leave for the United States, Italy, Austria, etc. Others have gone to receive education in Turkey. We will participate as observers in the military training of foreign armies.

[Joro] What is your vision of a possible integration of Albania into European military structures?

[Zhulali] Efforts to make this integration have already begun. Our primary target is to obtain observer status in

NATO because we are conscious that membership will take a long time. We are aware that if all the countries of former Eastern bloc ask for this, NATO will lose the function for which it was founded. We will make every effort. Our favorable geographical position and our being a very special ethnic group will also aid us.

In this framework we think that we should not set our hopes only on NATO, but also try to find other military partners.

[Joro] Who do you think are your closest military partners?

[Zhulali] Perhaps we cannot speak of close partners or allies, but I would like to mention Turkey and Germany as auxiliary factors in the policy of friendship, moral assistance, and protection of the human rights of Albanians.

[Joro] How do you consider the latest developments in former Yugoslavia and the southward movement of the war toward Kosovo?

[Zhulali] I undoubtedly consider them as a great danger for the region. I am confident that Germany and the United States especially will not allow Serbia to cause bloodshed in Kosovo. Nevertheless, Serbia is inclined toward bloodshed and needs only a pretext. The events on the Albanian-Serbian border testify to this. Serbs have recently increased their provocations on the border by killing young Albanians. Several days ago, a Serbian soldier fired in the direction of the Albanian border crossing-point. No one was killed because the bullet went astray. But this is a provocation. We will show ourselves reasonable to the extent that our sovereignty and territorial integrity are not threatened.

Biography of Defense Minister Safet Zhulali

Mr. Safet Zhulali was born in Struge in 1944. His family comes from Gjirokaster. His parents were teachers and they settled in Diber in 1946. He graduated from the Diber College of Education. He graduated from the University of Tirana in mathematics in 1970. In 1975, he completed his postgraduate study. Since then, he has taught mathematics in the secondary school of the town of Peshkopi. He was chairman of the Democratic Party Branch for Diber District from the party's creation until February 1991. On 22 March, he was elected as People's Assembly deputy and was later appointed as defense minister.

Writer Ismail Kadare Returns From France 6 May

AU0605182792 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1730 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] The distinguished writer Ismail Kadare returned to his homeland today after 18 months' exile in France. Between 24 October 1990 and today, Ismail Kadare has only been physically absent from Albania. His works, printed in almost 1 million copies, have been here among us. It was these works that (?led to) his absence,

but they also influenced a younger generation of Albanians in their stand against dictatorship. Kadare is a writer who (?endured) not without pain, but with pride the dictatorial [word indistinct].

Writers, poets, artists, journalists, members of his family, and friends came to meet Ismail Kadare at Rinas Airport. Dhimiter Anagnosti, minister of culture, youth, and sport; Ylli Vejsiu, minister of education; Genc Rruli, minister of finance and the economy; Maksim Konomi, chairman of the Committee for Science and Technology; Azem Hajdari and Arben Imami, deputy chairmen of the Democratic Party; Spiro Dede, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party; Teodor Laco, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party, and representatives of various associations were also present. French Ambassador Michel Boulmer and other diplomats were also present. After arriving on his native soil, the distinguished writer Ismail Kadare was warmly welcomed by these government representatives, public personalities, diplomats, and friends. Replying to many questions posed by Albanian and foreign journalists, he said:

I am happy to return to my country, my land. Albania is free. This is a phrase that a person can think of hundreds of times, and each time it will have a special beauty. I have come back to Albania forever, and if I go on business to France—as I always have done, this is something normal—what every Albanian might do on business. It is not true that I will return to Paris after two weeks in Tirana.

Talking about democratic processes in Albania, Ismail Kadare said that he has total faith in and unreservedly supports Albanian democracy. He said: I unreservedly support the legal institutions of democracy, and the new leaders of Albania. I have total faith that the Albanian people will understand and follow them and will correctly understand that a new epoch has begun.

Asked whether he would remain in Albania for good, Ismail Kadare said that no doubt he would do so. He also replied to other questions from journalists.

Discusses Democracy, 'New System'

AU0705110892 Tirana ATA in English 0819 GMT
7 May 92

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In continuation of the talk with journalists, Ismail Kadare underscored that I think that all the Albanian culture has worked hard, although this culture is being criticized and might be criticized regarding many things. But the Albanian culture, its best part, has carried out an important role for democracy. In this framework, I think that my books too have played the role they ought to have played. The role of the artist, he said, does not change in any society, it is the same, to create authentic values. With regard to the new system, he said further on, I absolutely hope. Certainly no democracy is perfect anywhere in the world and there can be no talk of perfect democracy, because it does not

exist. Democracy in Albania is a normal one as that of all the others, although it has shortcomings they will go by. I am absolutely fully confident, without any reserve.

The new mentality will be created naturally. I think that there exists a new mentality already. The new mentality will be perfected. Everything that is done directly or indirectly is in favour of democracy. To the question whether is there any good tradition in Albania to march on the road of genuine democracy, Kadare responded that it has already become customary to say that there is no tradition. I do not agree. There is a certain tradition in Albania, naturally not an ancient tradition, but as compared with other peoples, there is more or less a medium tradition. The only countries to have democratic tradition are France and Britain. The others have

very little democratic tradition. Hungary has recognized very little democracy. Prior to the 15th century Albania has been one of the most civilised European countries of the Balkans, not to say the most civilised European country, i.e. Greece has been the most civilised country. With the passing of the time, falling under byzantinism, Greece lost its vanguard position and Albania was for a certain period of time in the van. I think that it has all opportunities to become such. The Albanians will recall Enver Hoxha's time, he said, just like all dictatorships. All diseases are recalled. A part of mankind has gone through dictatorships. Therefore it will go by, it is not something a destiny has befallen only on Albania. I am against a kind of lamentation that is repeated several times. [passage omitted]

Ministry Announces Admission to Council of Europe

Ganev Notes 'Historic Importance'

AU0405182292 Sofia BTA in English 1601 GMT
4 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 4 (BTA)—“I expect this week to be of historic importance for Bulgaria. Bulgaria's admission to the Council of Europe does not simply make this country a part of Europe, Bulgaria's admission is a recognition on the part of Europe for the democratism achieved by this country and for its far-reaching political and economic reforms. Bulgaria's admission to the Council of Europe is proof that from the point of view of International Law this country meets the admission requirements which are really high.” Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev said at a news conference here today in connection with the forthcoming decision of the Parliamentary Assembly and the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on Bulgaria's admission as a full member of the organization.

According to Stoyan Ganev, this event will be of historic importance because Bulgaria will become an integral part of unifying Europe in a political and juristic sense and not only as a geographic region.

The Bulgarian foreign minister stressed that as a Balkan country, Bulgaria will assume a heavy responsibility to Europe with its admission to the Council of Europe. “Undoubtedly, in the coming months and years Bulgaria will have the historic chance to become a factor of calm, stability and common sense in inter-Balkan relations,” Mr. Ganev said.

Today Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev and Minister of Justice Svetoslav Luchnikov will submit a report on the steps which should be taken to bring the Bulgarian legislation in line with the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, to which Bulgaria will accede immediately after its admission to the Council of Europe, Mr. Ganev said. In his view, this will create a human rights protection mechanism which does not exist in this country now. The two ministers propose in their report that the government should not restrict the opportunity for individual petitions.

Foreign Minister Ganev expressed his hope that the talks on Bulgaria's admission to the European Community, which will probably start in a week's time, will be completed by the year's end.

On July 4, 1990 Bulgaria was granted a special guest status. Since then a delegation of Bulgarian parliamentarians have been attending the sessions of the Parliamentary Assembly without the right to vote. On January 7, 1992 the Bulgarian Government set up a Coordinating Committee on Bulgaria's Association with the Council of Europe. It is chaired by Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev. Bulgaria joined the following conventions of the Council of Europe: the European Cultural Convention,

the European Convention on Information on Foreign Law and its protocol, the European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage, the European Convention on the Conservation of the Architectural Heritage, the European Convention on the Conservation of Wild Life and Natural Habitats.

In January 1991 Bulgaria formally applied for full membership in the Council of Europe. In February 1991 the application was considered by the Committee of Ministers and handed for opinion to the Parliamentary Assembly. Three of the parliamentary assembly committees: The Political Affairs Committee, the Legal and Human Rights Committee and the Committee For Relations with European Non-Member Countries, appointed one rapporteur each on Bulgaria's candidature: Mr. Miguel Martinez, Mr. Tim Rathbone and Mr. Dumeni Columberg. The missions who visited Bulgaria presented their reports to the respective committees of the Parliamentary Assembly. The final procedure on Bulgaria's admission to full membership in the Council of Europe was opened on this basis.

Parliament Ratifies Statute

AU0505193392 Sofia BTA in English 1810 GMT
5 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 5 (BTA)—Bulgaria ratified today the statute of the Council of Europe in response to the invitation it received to become a full member of the Council of Europe. Parliament also ratified the General Agreement on Privileges and Immunities of the Council of Europe of 1949 and its protocol of 1952.

National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov described the invitation to membership in the Council of Europe as the most prestigious international recognition of Bulgaria's efforts to break with the totalitarian structures. Membership in the Council of Europe will guarantee the irreversibility of the democratic changes in Bulgaria, Mr. Savov said. And according to the floor leader of the Parliamentary Union of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov, this invitation marks the end of Bulgaria's long journey back to Europe.

The conclusion of the report of the new president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Mr. Miguel Angel Martinez, that Bulgaria has achieved the necessary standards in safeguarding human rights, freedoms and political pluralism is an important recognition for a country like Bulgaria which only three years ago was the most loyal satellite of the former Soviet Union, Mr. Ahmed Dogan, leader of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) said. According to him, this became possible thanks to the SDS-DPS coalition.

In their statements M.P.'s [members of parliament] of the ruling SDS stressed that membership in the Council of Europe is not only an honour but also a responsibility because Bulgaria should bring its legislation in line with the European one. M.P.'s of the opposition Socialist

Party preferred to stress that not all human rights in Bulgaria are being observed, such as the right to work, for instance.

Today parliament adopted a declaration by which Bulgaria recognizes as compulsory the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice and withdraws its reservations on the formulations of some international conventions providing for such jurisdiction. The nine ratified conventions will be included in Bulgaria's legislation which will conform with the European legal relations and institutions.

Parliament voted a decision to comply with international conventions and recommendations of the International Labor Conference.

Zhelev Addresses Nation

*AU0705172992 Sofia BTA in English 1350 GMT
7 May 92*

[Text] Sofia, May 7 (BTA)—Admission to the Council of Europe is not an act of charity but a recognition of the democratic changes in Bulgaria, of the political wisdom of the Bulgarian nation and its political culture, President Zhelev says in an address to the nation on the occasion of Bulgaria's admission to the Council of Europe.

In two and a half years the Bulgarian people established a multi-party political system, independent trade unions, free press, radio and television, autonomous universities and held democratic multiparty elections and direct presidential elections, the address goes on. At the same time no outrages or violence were allowed, no blood was shed. Bulgaria found a civilized solution to one of the most difficult contemporary problems—interethnic relations.

All these achievements allowed Bulgaria to effect a peaceful transition to democracy and play a stabilizing role in the Balkans. If all goes well, the negotiations on Bulgaria's association to the European Community, which will start on May 11, stand all chances of a successful completion by the end of the year, President Zhelev said.

Dimitrov Continues Consultations on Cabinet Changes

*AU0505160692 Sofia BTA in English 1518 GMT
5 May 92*

[Text] Sofia, May 5 (BTA)—Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov is continuing the consultations on the changes in the cabinet of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). This morning, before leaving for Turkey, he attended a session of the Coordinating Council of the SDS. Most probably the cabinet changes will be made known officially next week.

Some ten days ago the parliamentary group of the SDS approved in principle the structural changes proposed by Mr. Filip Dimitrov: The appointment of two deputy prime ministers to monitor and coordinate the functions

of the local administration and the economic reform, the division of some ministries, the setting up of several new ministries, the transformation of the Committee on Power Engineering into a ministry, and several other structural changes. At the same time, the prime minister is also holding consultations on personnel changes. Information has leaked that he has demanded the resignation of Defence Minister Dimitur Ludzhev. Over the past week there were speculations in the press that most probably Industry and Trade Minister Ivan Pushkarov will remain in the cabinet but will head a ministry with more restricted functions—possibly only of trade. The press mentioned the possibility of the appointment of a minister in charge of the problems of Bulgarians abroad.

"All kinds of things are being discussed but the talks are of a consultative nature," Mr. Filip Dimitrov told BTA today at noon after the session of the SDS Coordinating Council, shortly before he left on an official visit to Turkey. The prime minister declined to make any concrete statements about the cabinet changes. "State power is something very responsible and things should be made crystal clear," he said. The prime minister denied having had any consultations with extraparlimentary political forces. It is quite possible that representatives of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) will enter the executive. According to unofficial information, the DPS will get two deputy-minister posts.

Most heated are the commentaries on the prime minister's demand for the resignation of Defence Minister Ludzhev, who refused to hand it in himself. Mr. Ludzhev told journalists that the demand for his resignation is related to his ambitious attack on "militarism and the Mafia." Defence Minister Ludzhev's interference into activities extrinsic to his post and his inefficiency are among the most frequently mentioned reasons for his possible removal from the cabinet. There were also speculations in the press about his involvement in shady deals and illegal ties with the Jes Air Company. Yet another hypothesis is that Defence Minister Ludzhev's views on the military industrial complex were the reason why the prime minister demanded his resignation. According to a statement Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev made yesterday, the prime minister was ill-informed about the management of the military industrial complex and about control over the Intelligence Services. Defence Minister Ludzhev even claimed that there had been no differences between the prime minister and himself on this matter.

But Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov seems adamant in his intention to remove Dimitur Ludzhev from the post of minister of defence. "I understand Mr. Ludzhev's statements but they have nothing to do with my stand," the prime minister told journalists today. He made it clear that he regards the question of the defence minister's resignation as settled. Last week Mr. Filip Dimitrov even mentioned the possibility of his own resignation if the SDS parliamentary group does not approve the changes proposed by him, including the resignation of Dimitur Ludzhev.

Ludzhev Statement

AU0405134092 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian
24 Apr 92 p 1, 2

[Statement made by Defense Minister Dimitur Ludzhev to Yavor Ninov: "Attitude Toward Trade Unions Is Reason for Government Discord"]

[Text] In connection with Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov's demand that Defense Minister Dimitur Ludzhev resign, the minister of defense made the following statement to a PODKREPA correspondent:

"Probably one of the reasons for this demand is my attitude toward the trade unions, which nothing new. Some people with sick imaginations think that, since they are in sharp confrontation with Podkrepa, my own personal position certainly indicates that the government will soon be toppled as a result of some political alliance. This is ridiculous. It shows that some people are afraid even of my shadow. Already in October-November 1992 I pointed out that the mechanism of dialogue with the trade unions should not be destroyed, because without their cooperation the government will have difficulty in carrying out the reform. Now those who attack me invoke the World Bank and the IMF, but forget the positions their representatives used to defend in parliament, namely, that there must be agreement with the trade unions about incomes, prices, and wages. I think that this 'loss of memory' is not at all accidental.

"I am aggrieved also by some people around President Zhelev. They organize intrigues against me. You see, Ludzhev and Trenchev became friends, but who is paying the price? Those are primitive insinuations."

Socialist Party Leaders Comment

AU0505140592 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
30 Apr 92 p 1

[Dora Chichkova report: "By Reconstructing the Cabinet, Filip Dimitrov May Achieve a Beria Effect"]

[Text] The Army, police, and local authorities may end up in the same hands under Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov's plan for a hierarchical cabinet structure, Dimitur Yonchev pointed out on 29 April at a news conference given by the Association for Social Democracy. In his view, this would be an extremely bold experiment, of a kind that only Beria managed to carry out.

Dimitur Ludzhev should remain a minister, Yonchev said, although he did not deny the criticism leveled against Ludzhev in connection with the reform in the Army. Mr. Yonchev argued flatteringly that Ludzhev is a cog that cannot work smoothly in any mechanism, so that in this case he is essential for purely political reasons, to prevent the appearance of absolutely uncontrolled power.

According to Aleksandur Tomov, it is not certain that Ludzhev will be replaced. He attributed the tension

surrounding the defense minister to internal conflicts within the Union of Democratic Forces. In any case, there are no indications of a change in the military doctrine, which was drafted long before the one-party cabinet was formed, Tomov pointed out.

If the minister does resign as asked, the Socialists will watch to see whether things lead to a speedy privatization of the military-industrial complex and an increase in foreign economic and political influence in this field.

On 29 April the leadership of the Liberals Party gave political support to Ludzhev. The party's leader Petko Simeonov stressed that the party was not supporting an individual, but the ability to make compromises.

BSP Demands Government Guarantees for Poor

AU0505125092 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
25 Apr 92 p 6

["DUMA PRESS" report: "Socialists Insist on Government Guaranteeing a Minimum Living Standard for the Destitute"]

[Text] A guaranteed minimum living standard for socially threatened sections of the population and destitute citizens, a continuous dialogue with the trade unions, systematic control of the prices of essential goods, and the revival of production are the urgent measures that the government should undertake, in the view of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. These demands are made in a resolution issued by the BSP Supreme Council and Socialist members of the National Assembly on the government's decision on the liberalization of prices and protection of socially disadvantaged citizens.

The resolution points out that under the conditions of the second price shock citizens' incomes are falling sharply, and the real value of the minimum wage is reduced by about one-third.

The new wave of price rises will lead to a deepening of the negative trends in the economy. However, the government does not offer the necessary compensation payments for the increase in the cost of living, rudely ignores the trade unions as social partners, and pays no attention to the IMF's recommendations on maintaining the population's real incomes at the level reached at the end of 1991.

The BSP firmly defends the principle of a reasonable social cost for the economic reform and a uniform distribution of the social burden during this very difficult period. For this reason, the resolution states, the party advocates state participation in the regulation of incomes and prices of goods and services during the transition to market relations. However, the adopted state budget does not correspond to the changed economic conditions.

The BSP Supreme Council and Socialist deputies put a further five urgent demands to those in power:

1. To draft and publicize programs for restructuring production that include estimates of the jobs that will be lost and measures for finding new jobs for the unemployed, creating new jobs, retraining employees made redundant, and creating a unemployment social insurance fund.
2. To provide economic incentives to ensure higher employment for young people and legally established preferential credits for young married couples to buy housing.
3. To immediately update pensions and submit a new social security bill to the National Assembly, or to start debating the social bills proposed by the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy that have been delayed by the parliamentary majority.
4. To establish new objective criteria for a minimum living standard, to update the legislative acts relating to social assistance, and to provide the necessary financial assistance to people with low incomes or no income at all.
5. To maintain and restore the legislative and economic conditions for employing invalids that were suspended as a result of an unreasonable and incompetent financial, taxation, and credit policy.

The BSP Supreme Council and Socialist deputies call upon the party councils, organizations, BSP members, and supporters to display human solidarity with people in need of support, to help them organize themselves and assist one another, and to support their just demands.

Plovdiv BSP Claims SDS Meddling in Commissions

*AU0505131492 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
25 Apr 92 pp 1, 2*

["DUMA PRESS" report]

[Text] Administrative misunderstandings in appointing the liquidation commissions and the inclusion of incompetent persons in the commissions continue to arouse the anger of the Thracian peasants, but the oblast administration obstinately refuses to make changes. We urgently appeal to the oblast administrator to use all his powers to guarantee observance of the laws and the Constitution and to prevent violations of civic and human rights, states a declaration issued by the Plovdiv Regional Coordinating Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

Yesterday, 24 April, new rural unrest broke out in Kaloyanovo Municipality, after none of the persons proposed by the municipal council was approved as members of the liquidation commission. The oblast administrator appointed only members of the coordinating councils of the Union of Democratic Forces Movement, and Ivan Ivanov, chairman of the Kaloyanovo Municipal Council, resigned as a mark of protest.

In the village of Ruzhevo Konare over 500 people occupied the cooperative building and prevented the mayor of the municipality from serving the orders. They adopted an appeal to the Constitutional Court and the oblast administrator stating that the commission had been formed secretly on party principles and that it includes persons—at least one of them with a criminal record—who have proved by their actions that they are not interested in the fate of the cooperative.

In the town of Suedinienie, following lengthy talks in the administrative offices of the Gigant Cooperative, only the commission's chairman Stoyan Dimov, formerly the cooperative's chief accountant, was allowed in to start work. He promised the protesting cooperative members that on 28 April another meeting would be held with oblast administrator Stefan Stoyanov with the aim of changing some members of the commission.

The situation is especially tense in the village of Tsalapitsa, where about 400 cooperative farmers have been demanding for the past week to have a say in appointing the commissions. The mayor's office suggested that the four agricultural cooperatives should put forward their own representatives for the liquidation commission, but so far no one has taken up the offer. The man appointed as chairman of the commission is Rangel Dzhambov, who at the same time is chairman of one of the competing cooperatives. People are against him supervising the liquidation.

Over 200 gypsy families employed in the cooperative of the village of Kostievo have threatened to start stealing if the cooperative is dissolved. Similar discontent has appeared in Khisar, Tsaratsovo, and Perushtitsa. In some villages the inhabitants will pitch tents over the Easter holidays, but will continue to protest their cooperatives' properties. Everywhere demands are being raised for competent people to decide the fate of the new agricultural structures.

The Coordinating Council of the SDS Movement in Plovdiv, instead of seeking ways to calm down the conflicts, chose the easiest solution, that is, of bringing false charges against the Socialists. They declared at a new conference that Lukanov had allegedly incited revolts in the villages and formed fighting groups. Keen-eyed blue [SDS] intelligence agents supposedly sighted him visiting Plovdiv villages in this private car, but no information was given on when and where he has seen.

We strongly protest against the high-handed actions of the SDS and the liquidation commissions in the region, states a declaration issued by the Vidin BSP Coordinating Council. A typical example is the actions committed by the liquidation councils in the town of Bregovo. With the cooperation of the police and without any instruction from the public prosecutor, members of the liquidation councils sealed during the night the entrances to the municipal council building, where both the farms of the town have their offices. They then summoned the farm managers and confiscated the keys

of their official cars and working premises. Access to the municipal building was restored only on the following day, when members of the liquidation councils arrived.

The appointment of criminals, bar owners, and incompetent and uncultured people of all kinds to the liquidation councils in the villages are some of the main reasons for the rural unrest that has appeared, states a letter sent by Vasil Ararski, executive secretary of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria and deputy chairman of the Federation of Independent Agricultural Trade Unions, to Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov on 24 April.

The trade unions suggest that the serious unrest in Plovdiv, Ruse, Vidin, and other regions require the government's urgent intervention. The memberships of the liquidation commissions should be reexamined, and peasants with small holdings or none at all at all should not be dismissed from the cooperative farms, at least until the liquidation councils have completed their work, the letter states.

BSP 'Open Letter' Urges Security Investigation

AU0405204692 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 4 May 92

[Text] We received an open letter signed by Zhan Vidinov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council, and by Nora Ananieva, chairman of the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy, addressed to President Zhelyu Zhelev, Stefan Savov, chairman of the National Assembly, and Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The letter reads as follows: Esteemed gentlemen, our public has lately expressed its serious concern about a piece of information whose confirmation would eventually mean that a criminal act of violating the interests of our national security has been committed. In connection with this piece of information, which is still unconfirmed by the legal authorities, the name of Mr. Stoyan Ganey, minister of foreign affairs, was repeatedly mentioned.

Taking into consideration the upcoming important political events, which our public is expecting, such as those related to the Council of Europe and to the UN General Assembly, there is a danger that our country may be disgraced, albeit only by suspicions on the question.

In this connection the BSP Executive Bureau and the leadership of the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy are addressing you with the urgent request to encourage the responsible state organs to take prompt and energetic actions in the interest of the whole truth about the notorious list.

As long as this affair has not been fully clarified any appointment of individuals who are potentially involved in it to authoritative posts in international institutions would be a risk for the prestige of our young democracy, the open letter says.

'Offensive' Against BCP Leaders Viewed

AU0505141792 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
30 Apr 92 p 1

["DUMA PRESS" report]

[Text] On 29 April Chief Prosecutor Ivan Tatarchev threatened the fellow villagers of former Prime Minister Georgi Atanasov with police action. Angel Dimov, people's deputy for the 17th Plovdiv Constituency representing the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy, is reported to have asked for a meeting with Tatarchev to inform him of the anxiety felt by his electors from the villages of Pravoslavlen, Pervomaysko district, where Atanasov was born. The villagers wanted to find out details about the arrested former prime minister and the reasons his application for bail has not yet been considered.

Authority is strong enough; I will telephone Sokolov, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs will deal with any unrest, the chief prosecutor is reported to have told the National Assembly deputy.

The chief prosecutor's offensive, which started with the confiscation of the diplomatic passport of his distant relation Andrey Lukanov, is already gathering momentum. Todor Zhivkov is the next one on the list; he will be called to appear as one of the defendants charged with responsibility for the economic crisis in the trial known as Case No. 4. At 0930 today the former general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] will be summoned for a charge to be brought against him in this case. Mr. Tatarchev promised not to keep him under arrest, as has been the practice in such cases recently, because Todor Zhivkov is already free on bail in connection with another case.

The charge against him this time concerns an immense sum of money, as the chief prosecutor described it, which was freely donated over several years on Todor Zhivkov's orders to aid the international communist movement in nonsocialist countries.

Ognyan Doynov is another person who will have to answer for the economic catastrophe. Other persons will also be charged, but Mr. Tatarchev declined to give their names off the cuff.

Regarding the case of "that list" [list of Bulgarian intelligence officers allegedly leaked to a foreign embassy], the necessary investigations are reported to be in progress. Tatarchev threatened that anyone who has done anything will have to answer for his actions, but the persons who published the list will also have to answer for it.

I am not dealing personally with the case of the Bistritsa Residence; I took the materials merely to look through them, Mr. Tatarchev admitted.

Recently the power of the prosecuting service in Bulgaria is openly merging with party and executive power, political observers comment. In their view, the double standard in Tatarchev's attitude to the cases that have aroused a furor recently indicates excessive haste and may lead to juridical gaffes. The observers forecast that it is likely that the prosecutor will now deal with "that brochure," about which the Ministry of Internal Affairs blared forth in its announcement of 29 April, and also promise further "supersensations" in the same style.

Commentary Views 'Faction Clash' Within SDS

AU0505152392 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
29 Apr 92 p 4

[Vasil Popov commentary; "New April Line Emerges, But Emperor Is Naked"]

[Text] The analogy between the last conference of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]-Movement and the April 1956 Plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which certain reporters made with or without irony, is not accidental, and this not only because the two historical events took place during the same beautiful month.

Sparks flew as a result of the faction clash in the dark blue [SDS] Central Committee in recent days. They will certainly burn a minister or two. According to observers, two factions are struggling for supremacy, and this affects the "Kennedy" cabinet.

It has been said that those rallied around Stefan Savov [National Assembly chairman] are working to curb President Zhelyu Zhelev's influence in the SDS-Movement. Only about 20 Zhelev supporters remain in the SDS parliamentary faction, but they hardly have any influence, rumors whispered in the National Assembly corridors have it. There do not seem to be any documents about the party line, but it appears to be an April line. The prime minister is tacitly trying to balance it.

This is just the first, ideological-political aspect of the situation. The other aspect affects the state leadership.

Filip Dimitrov showed Defense Minister Ludzhev a yellow card [reference to warning card in soccer]. A broad attack has been organized against the defense minister. The frontal blows come from Pushkarov, because of the defense industry, and from Stoyan Ganev, who has a personal stake in the issue, related to compromising information, a well-informed source thinks. Ivan Kostov, who also enjoys strong influence, has also turned against Ludzhev. Yet, it is well known that it was precisely Kostov who used his influence to ensure Ludzhev's appointment at the end of the difficult 24 hours, when the cabinet was composed. Rumors about compromising materials and shady businesses emerged.

The civilian minister of defense could receive a flank blow from the Presidency. According to confidential information, an opinion seems to have formed around Zhelev that "his man" apparently was acting against his

patron. On 24 April Ludzhev has held a 90-minute meeting with Zhelev. It has not been disclosed whether Ludzhev has assured Zhelev of his loyalty or acquainted the president with his own defense sufficiency and counterattack ammunition.

It is well known that the ruler of the military fortress will not surrender his positions without a battle. For the time being the defense minister is supported by the heavy artillery of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. However, according to an unconfirmed statement, Trenchev's strategists could get rid of him in combination with Pushkarov.

It is worth recalling that glorious day for Bulgarian democracy when ideologist Aleksandur Yordanov promised a long and brilliant SDS rule, based on the leading role of G-39 [the 39 Grand National Assembly members who refused to sign the new constitution and walked out of the parliament]—the organizer and leader of all our successes. However, their performance so far and the party-governmental conjuring in recent days rather remind us of the tale about the emperor's new clothes.

Ministry Warning on Land Reform Criticized

AU0505141192 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
30 Apr 92 p 8

[DUMA commentary: "Interior Ministry Moves Against the Village"]

[Text] The announcement by the Ministry of Internal Affairs is here in front of us, dear readers, and everyone may reach his own conclusions. This announcement warns, that is, threatens hundreds of thousands of people who seek the truth about themselves and their own small parcel of land. It is evident from the announcement that no mercy will be shown to anyone who dares to question the Land Act and those whom the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] Movement appoints to apply the act, for it is appointing them, instead of choosing them with the farmers' agreement. This is a classic case, when our young democracy is subjected to a fateful trial. Please note that none other than the Interior Ministry, assuming the role of "arbiter," is interfering in a dispute between the people of the land and official power. Everyone knows what this is called, and every citizen may imagine what acts of violence may be committed in the name of a bullying will that is not concerned with the interest of man, but elevates the interest of a political force above it.

Please note that the announcement of the Ministry of Internal Affairs does not contain a single concrete fact. Reference is made to some "book," mention is made of some kind of weapons, allusion is made to attempts at sabotage, and that is all. Not a word is said about what kind of book this is, where these weapons are, and what kinds of sabotage are being carried out. The gentlemen who composed the announcement seem to have forgotten that every accusation must be proved before it is used as a threat. The other day shots were fired in the

center of Sofia. Has anyone heard shooting in any village? Have acts of violence been committed anywhere against "legally" appointed commissions, has a single head been broken? No! Well then, against what is the Ministry of Internal Affairs issuing a warning? From where does this fear come? It is quite unnecessary to prove that we are witnessing a huge provocation. The organs of power want to frighten everyone who want the restoration of the land to be carried out by competent persons instead of by dark blue amateurs [affiliated to the SDS Movement]. This kind of fear is familiar to us. It is always used by people who want to govern but do not possess the strength and common sense to do so. It is used by the gentleman who have greedily opened their mouths but do not know what life is like in the villages.

It will be terrible if the warnings that the Interior Ministry is issuing to the Bulgarian peasants are "proved" by provocative actions. It will happen in the guise of a poorly hatched "scenario" that no one will believe. For this reason, vigilance is necessary. Therefore no one should lose his nerve because of the interests of people who in general have only bad opinions about the countryside. At the same time, the storm has started, and those who want to push working people against the wall should watch out. The village is hungry, not for work, but for legality and justice.

Gentlemen of the police, do not create trouble for yourselves. This is 1992, and in a few days time Bulgaria is due to be accepted into the European community.

'Mass Protests' Held Against Land Ownership Act

AU0605180392 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
2 May 92 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Mass Protests Against Liquidation Councils That Drive the Bulgarian Rural Population Crazy"]

[Excerpts] Hundreds of land owners from the largest farm in Burgas Oblast organized a sit-in in the building of the Burgas Agricultural Cooperative protesting against Slavcho Slavov, the newly appointed chairman of the Liquidation Council, our correspondent Tsanko Raychev reports. To guarantee a temporary armistice among the 1,650 cooperative members and 10,000 land owners, a group of members from the Management and Control Council submitted a letter to the oblast administrator in Burgas with the request that they be invited to attend the discussions about candidates for the Liquidation Council staff. Nevertheless, the oblast administrator, deliberately and without consulting anyone, dismissed the agronomist Dimitur Nikolov, who is an experienced specialist and competent manager, and appointed a young female agronomist who has only three months of service, in his place. Slavcho Slavov, a pensioner who has no experience whatsoever in the agricultural sphere, was appointed chairman of the Liquidation Council. Nenko Kunev, the former chief accountant, is

definitely responsible for the difficult economic situation of the cooperative in question, which emerged despite its excellent prospects. The new cooperative is beginning its activities with state subsidies, although it is entitled to 5 million leva from various companies and enterprises which are indebted to it.

Vladimir Nedyalkov, Ruse Oblast administrator, made the following categorical statement in his interview with a DUMA correspondent: The liquidation councils in Ruse should by all means include Socialists and representatives of other large political parties to prevent a repetition of the nonsense that was allowed to occur in the Plovdiv and Mikhaylovgrad areas. However, he did not commit himself to specify the exact date of completing the lists of liquidation councils' staffs.

We never read any books or pamphlets instructing us on the struggle against the liquidation councils. Minister Sokolov should not threaten us because we are going to get whatever belongs to us. The laws do not forbid us to join a cooperative, a group of hard-working women from the Drugan, Vladimir, and Staro Selo villages in the Radomir area declared while visiting the DUMA correspondent's post. [passage omitted]

Krasimir Sekiranov, our correspondent from the Pernik area, reports that a notorious criminal was appointed member of the local Liquidation Council in the village of Vitanovtsi, after which the gentleman was thrown out by his own fellow villagers in a rather impolite manner. The peasants from Meshtitsa village also chased away and refused to accept the members of the local Liquidation Council explaining their actions on the grounds that the liquidators are not local people and the chairman of the council is an agronomist who is responsible for the financial ruin of the labor cooperative farm in Elov Dol. In the Bogdanovo Dol village only four people applied for individual ownership of the land, the rest joined the cooperative. The Liquidation Council was thrown out of Leskovets Village. In Radomir the council tried to sell agricultural equipment as soon as it established itself. In Daynovo village the liquidators were forced to seek help from the police.

In a statement submitted to a number of major newspapers and to Bulgarian Television, supported by 420 signatures, the cooperative farmers of Yakimovo village, Mikhaylovgrad Oblast, announce that their general assembly decided which of their representatives should be proposed to the oblast administrator as members of the Liquidation Council. Unfortunately, party bias prevailed over professional competence, and individuals who hardly meet the elementary requirements have been appointed. For this reason, they are not accepted by the landowners who are preventing their access to power and declare that they are resolved to defend their justified democratic claims with all legal methods.

Police Clash With Cooperative Farmers in Villages

AU0605114492 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
1 May 92 p 1

[Stefan Severin report: "Union of Democratic Forces Movement Changes System in Bulgarian Countryside With the Aid of Police, Batons, and Dogs"]

[Text] Following the brawl on 29 April with cooperative farmers in the village of Tsalapitsa, at 0500 on the morning of 30 April the police attacked the cooperative building in the town of Kaloyanovo. The protesting peasants were threatened with batons and dogs. A fire escape was brought up, with the help of which police officers managed to enter the building through the windows. They then broke down doors and seized the building. Threats were made against the cooperative's trade union leader.

On the morning of 30 April, four women were beaten by the police in the village of Kostievo, when the police unsealed the cooperative's officers and forcibly installed the liquidation council in the building. However, at lunchtime the peasants once again expelled the council. A similar incident occurred in Sadovo.

Police detachments made an unsuccessful attempt to escort the liquidation council into the village of Tatarevo. Tinka Georgieva, 52 years, and 56-year-old Gana Koleva have medical certificates attesting to their injuries. National Assembly Deputy Konstantin Todorov was also present at the scene. In the village of Tsalapitsa yesterday the cooperative offices were sealed and under police guard. The liquidation council has not dared to start work, because striking cooperative members continue to surround the building. A village meeting has been called to form a new agricultural cooperative. In the village of Tsaratsovo the cooperative building is

cordoned off by police. Although they have been installed by force, the liquidation councils in these villages are not accepted, and the protest actions show no signs of abating. The cooperative offices in the villages of Zhitnitsa, Ruzhevo Konare, Karadzhovo, Belozem, and Gradina continue to be occupied.

Stormy protests by cooperative farmers broke out in the villages of Vinogradets, Tserovo, Tsruncha, Lesichevo, and Karabunar, in Pazardzhik district. In the village of Velichkovo, members of the liquidation council were met with a human chain and the tolling of church bells to sound the alarm. In the village of Vetren the cooperative members refused to accept as chairman of the liquidation council a man with two previous convictions; in Ognyanovo a stranger appointed as chairman was rejected; and in Ovche Pole the rejected chairman had previously worked as a cook. The oblast administrator refused to meet Zhan Videnov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

Irresponsible and unseemly speculations—this was how Oblast Administrator Stefan Stoyanov described the protests by the cooperative farmers, after his ill-considered orders on forming the liquidation councils, composed in most cases solely of people proposed by the Union of Democratic Forces, had aroused tension in the villages. The gentlemen are only concerned about one thing, said, namely to oppose the reform with all their strength, to create political tension in the country, and to achieve civic chaos of the kind that those who share the same views have caused in neighboring Yugoslavia, he stated in his appeal published in the local newspapers. On 30 April the chairman and 17 councillors of the municipal council in the village of Kaloyanovo, as well as the mayor of the municipality, his deputy and secretary, and the mayors of 12 villages demanded Stefan Stoyanov's resignation.

Sovereignty Declaration Fails Slovak Parliament

LD0705174292 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1650 GMT 7 May 92

[Text] The draft declaration on sovereignty of the Slovak Republic has not been passed in the Slovak parliament.

Democratic Slovakia Chairman Interviewed on Reform

LD0605091692 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 5 May 92

[Interview with Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia, by correspondent Ivan Kosec in Prague on 5 May—recorded]

[Text] [Kosec] To start with, let us return to some topics you discussed yesterday with President Vaclav Havel. You explained to the president your ideas of development in Slovakia after the elections. These ideas are more or less known. How did Vaclav Havel react to the sequence of individual steps you want to take?

[Meciar] It was the first official working meeting with the president since the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [MFDS] was formed. This was the reason why he devoted twice as much time as he normally would have to this meeting. It was the first time that he heard an authentic explanation of our stand. He made no comments but asked about individual steps and questions and was very patient in listening to the explanations. His conclusion was relatively optimistic to the effect that he could see that talks with the MFDS continue to be possible and praised the fact that the movement did not cut itself off from discussion on any topic or about any steps. With regard to his reaction to individual steps, he was a bit perplexed because he could not quite see all possible consequences of the measures the Slovak Republic will take or imagine the situation that will arise afterward. I think that this perplexity diminished after we provided an explanation.

[Kosec] In your view the economic reform does not suit the needs of Slovakia and it will be necessary to look for a new model after the elections. But how did Vaclav Havel, who recently joined the support for Vaclav Klaus' economic reform, react to this?

[Meciar] We explained that this was a simple matter, that the same steps of the economic reforms that are successful in the Czech land are not successful in Slovakia, and that we do not have too much of a choice in this respect. Either we shall continue to respect these rules and by doing so accept further decline in the economy of the Slovak Republic, or in order to revitalize the economy and to start filling the state treasury, we shall have to choose a different system of measures and an alternative to the economic reform. I stated this clearly, as did the present advisers, who said that the differences between Slovakia and Bohemia are not an issue of nationalism or a nation. They have their own economic and social roots and if they are not addressed, then

political measures will have to be applied eventually to tackle them. The president, therefore, listened to our proposals. I pointed out to him that what he saw in Kysuce is, indeed, what is going on; he saw what is happening in the east and south of Slovakia and that neither we, as a political Movement for Democratic Slovakia, nor he as the head of a common state, should fail to see these processes and to respect them. Our common conclusion was that a public discussion with the authors of the economic reform on this issue will be necessary.

[Meciar] Was there a question voiced at the talks that concerned possible further development in the event that the MFDS wins in Slovakia and Klaus' Civic Democratic Party wins in Bohemia?

[Kosec] Yes, this alternative was also discussed. But we pointed out that as far as the development in Slovakia is concerned, the opportunity for broad cooperation between various political subjects is possible. On the other hand, there can be yet another alternative in Bohemia. After all, the strongest political party in Bohemia does not have to be the strongest opposition party because there is a chance that some other coalition grouping might emerge. This is why we adopted restraint on the issues of agreements and partnerships, and we adopted a similar stand on expressing solidarity and support for certain personnel because it will be a Czech voter alone who will be a partner for those who will be chosen by a Slovak voter. And so we regard any kind of agreements and statements made now as premature and superfluous. As far as a possibility of an agreement is concerned, should it be Klaus' clan, we pointed out both the areas where differences exist and the areas where there is a chance of striking a pragmatic agreement. This means that even if we were to disagree on our objectives, then we can and must reach an agreement on certain specific measures for a certain period of time, because the interest of the lives of 15 million people has precedence over the interest of a political movement, party, or the vanity of its representatives.

[Kosec] Mr. Meciar, many political subjects have already lent their backing to President Vaclav Havel's running for presidency. What is the MFDS position?

[Meciar] What must be resolved first of all is the basic concept: What will be the ratio of Slovaks in the top posts? We recognize four top posts: the chairman of a legislative body, the executive power split between the posts of president and prime minister, and the chairman of the supreme court. Two of them should be Czechs and two Slovaks. If this fundamental issue is not resolved, it is difficult to say whom we will support. If the alternative of having a Czech for a president looked realistic, then our demand would be that the vice president be a Slovak and that he be the president of the Slovak Republic at the same time. Concerning the other two posts, we do not intend to back down even though the talks indicated that the development could be different for the benefit of

someone else. So, these are issues of prime importance for us, because this will ensure the structure of the ministries.

We proposed that several ministries be abolished. We concretely proposed which ones. This should take place immediately after the first session of the Federal parliament. Policy statements should be made afterward according to the number of new central organs. We also proposed that if the federal prime minister is a citizen of one republic, then the first deputy prime minister must be a citizen of the other republic. We put forward a demand to introduce an office of secretaries of state [statny tajemnik], so that they will attend cabinet meetings and so that a citizen of the other republic will be a secretary of state. Both the reduction of the bodies of state administration and these issues can be solved. We also pointed out possible institutional and security disputes. It will be difficult for us to ensure after the elections the support for and the stability of the government, which would include Langos and Ruml. Furthermore, we pointed out that the Federal Security and Information Service might appear as a positive federal body, because it serves positive issues, but that it might appear as a negative body to those who are persecuted by it, to those for whom its functioning in Slovakia is undesirable.

A new, democratic institution should be built. We also pointed out that in the sphere of foreign policy and foreign trade, relations are developing so much in Slovakia's disfavor that we are finding it very difficult and hard to respect the Foreign Trade Ministry. Thus, the content of the talks was very specific even in this respect. We voiced our present disagreements on certain issues, which are, after all, conditions for coalition agreements. As far as the Federal Government is concerned, we said that the issue for us is not to be in the Federal Government at any cost. Should the Federal Government be unable to guarantee what the people are promised before the elections, then having chairs in the Federal cabinet is not worthwhile to us. Either we strike a policy agreement and execute the promises given to citizens, which is what they need, or if not, then it is better to tackle these issues by using some other system.

Constitutional issues were also a disputed point. The point is that the Constitution of the Federation ceases if the Slovak Republic's Constitution is adopted. We agreed that this fact fully complies with the present Constitution. But the president is concerned about whether this will not prompt an emergence of the state of dual legality, what the situation will be like, and what will happen with the federal bodies. We pointed out to him that federal laws do not cease with the Federal Constitution, that these laws must be transformed and that the process of transformation is more demanding in terms of time. The parliament must therefore exist and there must be someone to transform these laws. We, however, did not rule out the possibility of the Slovak National Council amending or suspending the validity of Federal laws by passing its own motions. It would affect

such laws as the Law on Transformation of Cooperatives, which in effect deprived fifty percent of Slovak farmers of being active landowners and of being able to make use of their rights. And although Prague will not like it, this is the law we would like to change because it is an injustice toward these people and it must be immediately corrected. All these were the issues we pointed out. We also asked that many other questions be finally acknowledged and not be perceived as purely Slovak issues, but also as Czech issues, which they are indeed.

We told the president that we regarded the questions concerning the relations between the two subjects and Europe as having been resolved once and for all. They were resolved in 1990 with the president's presence. We said that we do not intend to argue about this point again because it has been resolved. We are willing to talk about how to practice these relations, but not about whether to have them or not, because this question has been resolved. We also assured the president that as far as the emergence of the future Federal Government is concerned, we liked his proposal that the Federal Government should have three ministries: finance, foreign affairs, and national defense. We told him that we would wholeheartedly support him on the issue of having only these three ministries. The president emphasized to us that he said at least three ministries and so, we acceded to the existence of some other ministries as a start for the renewal of normal state structures, so that the state could function after the elections and so that political disintegration followed by economic disintegration would not occur.

[Kosec] What was your impression of the president? Did he surprise you in any way?

[Meciar] No, he did not. The president's ideal is basically known to us. It is the concept of addressing more Czech than Slovak conditions. Obviously, if he was more inclined to heed the Slovak side, then his situation in the Czech lands would be difficult and, therefore, I understand his position. He strove in particular to understand our way of thinking. He was well acquainted with individual measures but wanted to ponder the consequences and the implementation of these intentions in their entirety. We have acquainted him and his advisors with them with the greatest possible objectivity and credibility. He took several pages of notes and analysts will evidently work on them today and in the next few days and will arrive at some conclusion.

[Kosec] The television dialogue between you and Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos is being discussed often. Will it ever materialize and can you at all see how such a project can be justified?

[Meciar] After the talks with the president yesterday, when he dissociated himself from the attacks waged against me, the television dialogue with Jan Langos lost its purpose after my proposal to have him recalled. I think that on the part of the Civic Democratic Union

[CDU] this was only an advertising trick—to pretend that they want something that they in fact do not want—because until today, no CDU official has approached us to discuss the date, content of, or participants in this dialogue. They make a lot of noise for newspapers but they do little to make it happen. I think they thought that there would be a verbal duel between Meciar and Langos and that I never avoid a dialogue with anybody anywhere under any conditions, but should this be a dialogue between parties, then conditions must be met and we have already defined the conditions clearly. The CDU must apologize to the citizens of the Slovak Republic for calling them common. If they do not, then I shall have nothing to speak to them about because I am one of them.

Pithart Terms Acceptance of Agents List 'Mistake'

AU0605182392 Prague TELEGRAF
in Czech 5 May 92 p 1

["jak"-signed report: "A Mistake Was Made...."]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In his "Conversations at Lany" radio program on 3 May, CSFR President Vaclav Havel said it was absurd that the Czech prime minister speaks as though he automatically has dealt with the publication of secret information. "This is an expression of the prime minister's total lack of confidence in state administration," Vaclav Havel said. On 4 May, Petr Pithart qualified the president's statements as a misunderstanding. He said, "What I had in mind were possible information leaks. As far as I know, the information on the list of journalists who have been identified as Secret Police agents ultimately leaked from circles of the Federal Assembly or the Federal Information and Security Service [FIS]. Vaclav Havel says that I distrust state

administration bodies. Unfortunately, this case concerns the supreme legislative body."

"Naturally, we make mistakes. When accepting the list, I probably should have told the FIS director to wait until I consulted on the issue with my colleagues. Two hours later I would have surely returned the list as unusable. A mistake was made. I should have returned the list," Petr Pithart added.

Screening Debate Paralyzes Slovak Parliament

AU0705091492 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY
in Czech 1 May 92 p 8

["pj"-signed report: "Marked by Screening"]

[Text] Bratislava—As was to be expected, the Federal Security and Information Service report on the screening of journalists became the central theme of yesterday's deliberations in the Slovak parliament. Excited exchanges were triggered by the proposal of M. Krajcovic (Civic Democratic Union) that the debate be public. This was opposed, above all, by deputies for the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL]. They said that the report was "an act of unconstitutional pressure on journalists who make use of their freedom of speech and do not serve the government coalition." Deputy M. Andel (Slovak National Party) proposed that, in addition to journalists, parliament should also devote itself to the screening of members of the Slovak Government. When his proposal was put to a vote, SDL Chairman P. Weiss was in favor, the other SDL deputies were opposed. This prompted V. Sladek from the Civic Democratic Union to label the SDL's conduct as hypocrisy. The SDL deputies qualified this statement as an affront to their club and walked out of the hall. They were followed by deputies for the Slovak National Party and the Green Party in Slovakia. Because the majority of deputies for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, were also absent, the meeting did not have a quorum.

Prime Minister Interviewed on Domestic Policy

AU0705105592 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 2 May 92 pp 1,8

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Laszlo Karcagi; in Budapest on 1 May: "Debates and Common Denominators"]

[Text] [Karcagi] Two years ago, many economic and political experts predicted that your government would not last 2 years. Then they predicted a hot autumn and an even hotter spring. Although there are many problems in Hungary, we nevertheless have made it to May 1992 in a relatively stable political and economic situation. In your opinion, what is the reason for this stability?

[Antall] An aphorism comes to mind: During a discussion with writer Miklos Vidor before 1956, I told him that in our times only transitional periods are the lasting ones. He borrowed this aphorism then and included it in his new novel "The Strangers." He used this aphorism in the lines of former prime minister Miklos Kallay. I continue to believe that only transitional periods are really lasting ones, and this is true of my own fate too, because I was a temporarily-appointed leader for a long time, and I survived this.

As for the aforementioned prediction, one must acknowledge the fact that, both internally and abroad, people imagined a totally different transitional period. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and its reform wing imagined a different transitional period, and so did the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], and quite influential Western political and economic circles also predicted a victory by other parties. For example, many people in the United States saw the future in former MSZMP leader Karoly Grosz and others, and German economic groups also thought of a reform-communist Gorbachev-style transition in Eastern-Central Europe, and it took some time for them to acknowledge the realities.

For a long time, we had to take into consideration the fact that these circles did not like the government coalition led by the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. False accusations were thrown at us both from abroad and internally, accusations ranging from anti-Semitism to blatant provincialism. I honestly regret the fact that some parts of the foreign and domestic public opinion and press, as well as the domestic opposition, were unable to recognize the importance of the historic catharsis characterized by the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the abolition of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

Hungary and its Parliament were given a historic opportunity to reorganize. We did not expect any praise, but we did expect at least the recognition of our efforts. We have not received any recognition, public life has degenerated and, in many respects, the political struggle has degenerated into a tribal war. Unfortunately, the political-intellectual workshops are now playing a pragmatic political role in public life. The populist-urban debates

and other debates—which are useful but should only play a role within certain intellectual forums—have surfaced on the stage of open politics.

We have been unable to overcome this Hungarian illness that has divided our intelligentsia since the turn of the century. All this is not dangerous as long as it only appears in books and novels; however, it becomes dangerous when it affects the basic ideological programs of our political parties.

[Karcagi] The public finds it difficult to understand these debates carried out over its head; nor does the public see any point in these debates.

[Antall] In addition, they generate anti-political and anti-parliamentary reactions among the people.

[Karcagi] Two years have passed and the dialogue between the political forces that jointly carried out the changes in this country has ceased. Opposing parties do not listen to each other, they simply keep repeating themselves.

[Antall] The aforementioned tribal political emotions and speeches are characteristic of our parliamentary activity, and these things make it impossible to develop a normal dialogue between opposing political forces. Every political force in Parliament should agree on certain basic issues.

[Karcagi] Does the government coalition feel responsible for this lack of political dialogue between opposing parties, something that was still present at the beginning?

[Antall] There are objective reasons connected with all this. One of the major reasons is that most parties are struggling with a serious internal crisis. My own party is not among them. However, the leaders of some other parliamentary parties are no longer able to speak honestly even among themselves.

I remember that, in 1946-47, a narrow circle of friends advised former prime of Hungary Jozsef Mindszenty to be more flexible with the government. He said that they were right, but only a firm army is able to make compromises. He had doubts about the firmness of his own bishops and his own church to be able to make compromises. He knew that a compromise needs internal confidence. Most parties lack this internal confidence. They are busy trying to separate into many directions and guessing who the new leader will be and how to make a rival party slip up. It is difficult to negotiate with these parties under such circumstances.

[Karcagi] The parties do not trust each other both inwardly and outwardly.

[Antall] The reason for this is the fact that they failed to observe their bilateral agreements. Despite all the accusations, I am proud of observing the two basic political agreements we have signed with the others. One of them was the national roundtable agreement signed in 1989, and I accept every point of this agreement, including its

addenda. The other agreement we signed with the SZDSZ exactly 2 years ago, and we also stick to this agreement.

We should also mention the considerable differences of opinion among the parliamentary parties as another source of conflict. Positions differ on almost everything, with the exception of one or two basic issues. Let me remind you of the differences of opinion even among the government coalition parties on the issue of reorganizing the ownership relations at the beginning, while the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], the SZDSZ, and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] used to have a totally opposing position, and they continue to have such an opposing position. There is no unity on the issue of interest representation either, to name yet another major issue. The MSZP-supported traditional trade unions want one thing, and the League of Hungarian Trade Unions want another, and the autonomous trade unions and workers' councils want yet another. Domestic entrepreneurs are chanting national bourgeois slogans in business life, while foreign capitalists and their Hungarian subsidiaries have a different view of the future.

However, we must still find a consensus and a way out even with such basic differences of views.

I am convinced that there are 30 or 40 people in our political life, in our Parliament, and among the leaders of our parties who are well aware of the realities, of the issues that require urgent agreement, and of the dangers inherent in dissension, unless they put on an act for the public.

Allow me to make a small detour: An excellent medical historian reconstructed a particular history on the basis of psychiatric descriptions. On the basis of case history documents, he described what the insane regarded as important in a certain period of time. For example, he recorded the people whom the insane women of various eras regarded as their lover, and he came to the conclusion that every historical era had its own fashionable statesman, like Szechenyi, Kossuth, Prince Rudolf, and others. (Interestingly enough, Matyas Rakosi is not among these sex idols) Well, similarly to the method of this medical historian, we were also able to follow history on the basis of defamatory letters.

It is worth noting that the large number of insulting letters addressed to various politicians regard the government coalition and the opposition as allies today. Naturally, this is some sort of distorted image of our political life, but an image all the same, because it shows that our public sees much less difference among the various political forces than we thought. This also means that the politicians and parties present in the Parliament have a common responsibility.

[Karcagi] However, the main responsibility for Hungary's fate lies with the government coalition, the government, and you personally. This also applies to initiating and maintaining the dialogue among various parties.

[Antall] Naturally, I have the constitutional responsibility, because the government and the prime minister have the executive power. This government coalition has made numerous attempts to restore normal dialogue between opposing political forces. One example: After adopting this year's budget, the coalition parties organized an informal gathering precisely in order to improve their relations. Only one or two opposition politicians found it important to come to this meeting. We also invited the parties to a similar meeting, following the adoption of last year's budget, but some opposition parties did not consider it important to send representatives.

There is something wrong with the political culture in a country whose politicians are so incapable of a dialogue. Besides, contrary to other parties, in the MDF one does not have to announce in advance or later that one is carrying out a political dialogue with the heads of other political parties.

[Karcagi] The ruthless style introduced by some coalition politicians played a considerable role in making our political life wild and in making the debates loud and not constructive. Do you agree with this?

[Antall] This is a typical "chicken-and-egg" problem. It is difficult to decide who started it all. However, one thing is clear, namely that politicians who are now in leading positions in opposition parties spread lies about us abroad from 1988 and 1989. This has damaged our relations a lot, because emotional replies emerged to these lies, and subsequent counter-replies emerged, and today there is barely any dialogue. Both sides only remember the other's replies, and the sides do not remember the rudeness originating from themselves.

[Karcagi] Our political life is often fraught with scandals. A recent scandal erupted about people fired at the Semmelweis Medical History Institute and its Library. One of the SZDSZ executives, Istvan Bela Szabo, was dismissed some time ago. These people, and many other people think that there are political considerations behind these actions.

[Antall] Probably not, because the issue would not have created such a stir if I had not been the director of the institute previously.

Let me say a few words about the institute itself. When I started to organize it in 1964, we gradually created a scientific basis that gained recognition in Hungary and abroad. I always tried to keep the official politics away from the institute. When forming a judgment on people, I did not normally consider party membership because I knew many brave party members and just as many weak-hearted people outside the party. From 1964 when

I directed the institute in various positions. I tried to make sure that we would not have three party members altogether lest they formed a local party organization.

After I was rehabilitated in 1962 and was able to fill a leading intellectual position, I employed many people who were persecuted or injured by the political regime of the time, vilified army officers, resettled people, people incriminated in 1956, and those persecuted before 1956, kind of providing shelter for them. I also supported young people who did not want to take on political obligations in order to further their careers and had little hope of progressing in a scientific field elsewhere.

[Karcagi] Even the dismissed people themselves say that the institute was an island of peace and quiet under your leadership. Now, however...

[Antall] Well, it normally happens the same way elsewhere: When a head physician is moved to another job, then the subordinate doctors start to fight against each other. This is the way people are. However, what the press is doing with the institute's affairs is nothing but a slander campaign.

What is the actual issue? The institute became a separate publicly financed institute and the sensible use of the budget and wages demands staff reduction. For this reason, part-time positions have been stopped and some colleagues have retired. I must also add that there were some people who were kept in the institute for political reasons—solely for political reasons because they found refuge here; there is no point in keeping these people here because they can now find their place somewhere else, for example, in the administrative organization of the SZDSZ.

[Karcagi] The dismissals have a political overtone because people keep referring to you.

[Antall] I would like to emphasize again that we did not dismiss anyone for political reasons. I myself repeatedly warned Bela Szabo in writing because he had not performed his work properly. I would have dismissed him before 1989 if he had not been an opposition person, at the time when he did not yet have a political office at the SZDSZ.

Therefore, it was not the people who were unable to adjust to the "new system of subordination" but people who were unable to write a doctoral dissertation in many years, or did not fulfill the other scientific, professional, or managing requirements.

[Karcagi] In addition to the change of regime, the political elite is also being replaced in Hungary. Therefore, one often has reason to suspect political considerations behind the personnel changes. Was the MDF the party that promised a spring cleaning?

[Antall] Look, if I use decent professionals as experts to work with me, people who were, for example, in the MSZMP delegation at the national roundtable negotiations, if I trust them because they are experts and honest people and I defend them against unfair attacks, then it is hard to assume that I would see a colleague who

studies the medical literature of the 16th and 17th centuries as a political danger to be removed. However, if someone does not perform his work well for years, he should not try to hide behind the veil of politics, pretend he is a hero, and cover his human failures this way.

Everyone is becoming a hero in this country now. If someone is caught and fined at the flea-market for tax evasion, he tries to make himself out to be a political resistance fighter now.

[Karcagi] The whole country is busy repainting the past.

[Antall] We have to face the fact that Hungary has always been in a geopolitical situation where the nation had to prepare itself for surviving crises. This is a nation of survivors, and our fundamental principle is how to physically survive the crisis periods with the least amount of losses and moral damage. There are some shielded places where people managed to survive the past decades with fewer compromises, and people needed more opportunism in other areas. In some communities, people who wanted changes had to join the party to overcome the ones who took communist ideology seriously and who destroyed our environment. This often happened and there is no point denying it.

There also were, of course, honorable heroes who accepted to be in opposition together with imprisonment and persecution. However, time spent in prison is not the only measure of being in opposition. The rulers were inconsistent in this, too, and people were imprisoned for years for minute things while others were left free. (I do not mean people who accepted any kind of collaboration.) People who suffered in prison have to be given every possible compensation, but we should not consider the time spent in prison as the only measure of past merits.

[Karcagi] People today often ask the following question: To whom, in fact, did 1956 belong?

[Antall] 1956 was not a socialist, leftist movement. It was a real revolution and freedom fight with all the prevailing efforts and streams coming to the surface. Everyone found his own revolution within this uprising. Obviously, Imre Nagy and his companions expected one thing from those events, and the politicians of the former coalition parties expected another thing, and so did the political and public forces that remained here from the Horthy era. 1956 was not a uniform ideological event, and I say this as someone who participated in it and regards it as his own from every aspect. If, through some miracle, the Russians had not occupied us and a genuine broad coalition government had been created then, we would have experienced the same political confrontation by January 1957 as the ones that characterize our public life today. I say all this as someone who experienced the hesitations and opposing interests of various political groupings in various parties and here in Parliament very closely.

[Karcagi] Let us return to the present. We are celebrating labor day today and many people do not have a holiday because they do not have work. Among the many problems, I could mention our budget deficit, the still high inflation rate, our bankruptcy wave, and so on. Just as many people only see the scandals from the political changes, many people only feel the disadvantages of our economic restructuring. What about this economic restructuring? Can we already see the light at the end of the tunnel?

[Antall] There is no example in history of the type of reorganization that is taking place in Hungary today. Right-wing dictatorships in Europe also collapsed in Spain and Portugal in a way that the changes did not affect the previous ownership relations. However, in Hungary, we must reorganize the ownership relations, and we need a complete change in our production and product structures. Our large-scale production system based on Soviet needs has collapsed and, through no fault of our own, we have lost markets that we had developed over decades. Such a loss of markets would shake a much more developed country than Hungary and would cause an economic crisis. If we add to all this the recurring recession in the Western economies, I think that I have given enough reasons for an objective explanation to most of our problems.

Since 1990, we have continued the restrictive economic policy started by the previous government, and we succeeded in maintaining the level of our debts despite the additional loans, while the net amount of Hungary's debts has fallen. Inflation has also decreased, and the forecasts of inflation exceeding 60 percent proved to be unfounded. We hope that the inflation rate will stay between 20-30 percent and a slow economic growth will commence. Obviously, this will not change the mood of the general public overnight. Nor can we restructure ownership relations overnight. Today, 30 percent of the GDP originates from private production, and this will increase gradually.

Curbing unemployment is a very difficult task and it can only be solved over the long term, because one cannot turn an entrepreneur out of a miner or metallurgist overnight. The problem is that Hungarian society is not mobile enough. In Hungary, if someone has built his house in Ozd or Komlo during a lifetime of hard work, he does not want—nor can he—move from there. However, progress also implies the development of certain regions and the decline of other regions, and society must be able to follow these big changes. All this cannot be the task of a single government.

We will only be able to achieve all this if the various political forces are able to cooperate for the benefit of these goals. The Hungarian parliamentary and democratic forces must be able to agree on basic norms.

[Karcagi] What are these norms?

[Antall] Democracy, a constitutional state, a social market economy, and the creation of an adequate interest-representation system, all these are things that make a society function. We should have identical views on evaluating and maintaining contact with the Hungarians living beyond our borders, and on our relations with the neighboring countries. We have, therefore, overall national issues on which we should agree and find a common denominator, irrespective of our party affiliation.

I know many politicians in the strongly opposing parliamentary parties who can sometimes agree with each other more quickly than with the extremists of their own parties, if they are allowed to think and act independently and if their lay leaders and political "priests" do not force their ideology upon them. Therefore, I see hope for a broader and more active political dialogue, and even for cooperation among opposing political forces on basic issues. This would not have a negative effect on the essence of the political multiparty system and parliamentarism at all.

[Karcagi] Thank you for the interview.

Sejm Upholds Tribunal Ruling on Salaries, Budget**Finance Minister Submits Resignation***LD0605112392 Warsaw PAP in English 1021 GMT
6 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 6—Finance Minister Andrzej Olechowski informed newsmen at an impromptu press conference in the Sejm on Wednesday [6 May] that he submitted his resignation to Premier Jan Olszewski.

Olechowski Explains 'Protest' Decision*LD0605150192 Warsaw PAP in English 1335 GMT
6 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 6—The Sejm (lower house) Wednesday [6 May] upheld the Constitutional Tribunal's ruling on revaluation of salaries in the budget-financed sector, and approved three out of the eight articles of the tribunal's ruling on old age and disability pensions. Thus, the house cancelled the two 1991 laws which the tribunal proclaimed unconstitutional and being in breach of the civil rights of state employees and pensioners.

Finance Minister Andrzej Olechowski said the financial effects of the Sejm's decision will amount to 20-30 trillion zlotys (1.5-2.2 billion dollars) and announced his resignation from the post.

Olechowski declared his resignation was an expression of protest against the way public finances were treated in Poland and was not a gesture directed against Premier Jan Olszewski. He also announced he would have talks with his deputies on the possibilities of averting the consequences of today's decisions of the Sejm. He said he still planned to meet for talks on Wednesday with the International Monetary Fund mission now staying in Warsaw.

Olechowski stressed that any payments to pensioners and public sector employees, stemming from the Sejm's decisions were not likely to take place shortly. He also described as "cheating people" other proposals of settling the issue, like for instance securities or privatization bonds. He suggested that the answer to the question about the possible way of solving the problem be provided by economic experts of those parties whose deputies voted in support of the tribunal's rulings.

Deputies of the Democratic Left Alliance, the Confederation of Independent Poland and the Polish Peasant Party dominated among those who cast 216 votes against the rejection of the tribunal's ruling on state salaries, while 165 votes for the rejection came chiefly from the deputies representing government coalition parties and the Liberal Democratic Congress.

The Sejm is to examine still during its present meeting a draft resolution obliging the government to prepare a draft law reflecting the decisions adopted today.

Olszewski Accepts Resignation*LD0605182192 Warsaw PAP in English 1740 GMT
6 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 6—Polish Prime Minister Jan Olszewski told journalists on Wednesday [6 May] that he had accepted the resignation of Finance Minister Andrzej Olechowski.

Olszewski added that Olechowski had agreed to continue in a caretaker role for the time being. The prime minister said that the decision on appointing a successor would depend on progress towards completing work on the budget.

Olechowski's resignation became inevitable when the Sejm (lower house) failed earlier today to overturn two verdicts from the constitutional tribunal concerning payment revaluations for public-sector employees and pensioners.

Government 'Will Not Resign'*LD0605214492 Warsaw PAP in English 2129 GMT
6 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 6—The government will not resign, nor will it withdraw its budget bill from the Sejm (lower house), but sees no possibility for financing newly created budget deficit, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski told reporters on Wednesday [6 May] after the Sejm had upheld the constitutional tribunal's rulings on revaluation of pensions and wages in the public sector earlier today.

"A resignation would mean we shun facing a crisis," he stated and added that government, president and major political forces had to reflect upon the consequences of the voting and the relationships between government and parliament.

"The mechanism of the constitutional tribunal, an institution set up under the communist regime, paralyses the normal operation of the legislative power," Olszewski opined adding that the tribunal was in power to question any laws necessary for the continuation of reforms.

The prime minister said the government was not going to give up the 1992 budget bill, already submitted to parliament, nor did it see any possibility to work out a new bill which would cover the deficit of 28 trillion zlotys (over 2 billion dollars) created by the tribunal's rulings.

Jan Olszewski also said he had accepted the resignation of Finance Minister Andrzej Olechowski offered after the Sejm's vote. The premier added the minister had agreed to continue in a caretaker role until his successor is found.

Coalition Discusses Sejm Decision

LD0705014192 Warsaw PAP in English 2258 GMT
6 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 6—Representatives of seven parties forming the government coalition met Wednesday [6 May] at the office of the Council of Ministers to discuss the situation following the decision of the Sejm (lower house) to uphold constitutional tribunal's rulings on revaluation of pensions and wages in budget-financed sector.

Government spokesman Marcin Gugulski said that the government coalition had an advantage in view of the lack of any other alternative agreement. "One can see the weakness of ad hoc formed coalitions, which are able to overrule any decisions and vote against most of the Sejm laws but are not able to provide an alternative," he added.

Leader of the Christian-National Union and Sejm speaker Wieslaw Chrzanowski opined after the meeting that "the premier and the government are determined to look for ways-out of the situation created after the Sejm's decision." He also expressed belief that the return to the grand coalition concept was possible but pointed to the fact that Democratic Union had reservations about discussing that question in the present government arrangement.

Representative of the Party of Christian Democrats Pawel Laczkowski told the newsmen that the government coalition assessed the situation following the Sejm decision as "difficult but not hopeless." According to Laczkowski, the dimension of financial obligations resulting from Wednesday voting is disastrous for the budget.

Pawel Laczkowski added that the coalition did not take any decisions concerning the Polish Peasant Party's Wednesday voting in favour of upholding the rulings of the constitutional tribunal. He said that the voting of the party's members did not surprise the coalition.

Government Presents Budget Amendments to Sejm

LD0705130292 Warsaw PAP in English 1156 GMT
7 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 7—The Polish Government is seeking to introduce discipline and flexibility into the system of public finances, Deputy Finance Minister Wojciech Misiag told the Sejm (Lower House) Thursday [7 May] at the start of the debate on the government's proposed amendments to the state budget.

The government will seek to impose stricter controls over internal government spending, and will introduce competitive tendering for public expenditure projects. The government also intends to introduce measures to control financial transactions, including the possibility of deducting tax directly from the banks involved. This will close one specific tax loophole, whereby private firms are frequently set up to complete a single transaction or deal, then dissolved before tax is paid.

The government has also put forward proposals to amend the Teachers' Charter, which regulates the terms and conditions of employment of the teaching profession. Teaching hours, and the level of responsibility for Polish teachers, will be extended. It is also hoped to reduce staffing levels by around 8.5 percent from the present 720,000.

Wide-ranging changes are proposed to the social security system. Family benefits, currently calculated in relation to average earnings, will be paid as a fixed sum to those eligible. The system of sickness and injury benefits will be changed so that the payment liability for the first 35 days will fall on the employer, and not on the social security fund. Increases in old age and disability pensions for the second quarter of 1992 will be deferred until December, and social security assistance will in future be calculated in relation to average earnings rather than the lowest level of state pension.

Proposed changes in the financing of public transport will mean that the right to free travel or concessionary fares will be lost by around 9 million rail travellers, and 4 million users of Poland's inter-city bus network (PKS). The Ministry of Transport estimates that the proposed changes would reduce its budget outgoings by around 1 trillion zlotys (71 million dollars).

Sejm Drops Debate on Association With EC

LD0605155192 Warsaw PAP in English 1045 GMT
6 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 6—The Sejm (lower house) decided on Wednesday [6 May] to drop from the agenda of its four-day sitting the debate on the ratification of the treaty on Poland's association with the European Communities. The decision was taken after the deputies pointed out that the document had been submitted to them at too late a date.

Defense Minister Criticizes Opponents of Army

AU0605174392 Warsaw NOWY SWIAT in Polish
2-3 May 92 pp 1, 2

["J.Sz. MAG"-signed report: "We Want a National Army"]

[Text] "There are people who supported the Polish Army when it was still linked to a foreign power, but they oppose that same Army now that Poland is independent," said Defense Minister Jan Parys at a meeting of the Congress of Citizens of the Republic. "Let us record the names of these people, because they constitute a list of national infamy."

The minister illustrated the seriousness of this issue by citing Pope John Paul II's dramatic appeal to his countrymen. The pope said we must not risk our freedom and

must not permit ourselves to be enslaved under the slogan of freedom, and that society's weariness must not be taken advantage of. "This appeal must be borne in mind because everyone knows that irresponsible freedom leads to authoritarianism," warned the minister. "Some politicians today fail to understand the issue of national defense. They want to cut the Army's size and budget, claiming that because the Army is postcommunist, it is better to disarm it."

The defense minister pointed out that Poland has been pursuing a new defense policy for four months. It is based on four points: Good relations with neighbors, a consolidation of the "Visegrad triangle" (friendship with Czechoslovakia and Hungary), a balance of the military potentials in our region, and a pro-Western option. "Compared to the Warsaw Pact era, these principles are a revolutionary change," he said. He said that even though the pro-Western option is completely fresh, the line pursued by the present Defense Ministry leadership has acquired the full support of the officer corps and soldiers. Parys reckons that it is thanks to this radical change of concept that the Army has accepted a civilian defense minister. "The soldiers are ready to die for Poland, but only for an independent Poland," said the defense minister. He said that the Army knows what option the country's independence is linked to. Society also displays an understanding of the reforms. That is confirmed by public opinion polls, in which 77 percent of the respondents spoke out in favor of Poland joining NATO and close cooperation with that alliance. "That indicates a complete transformation of society's consciousness, despite several decades of pro-Soviet communist propaganda," said Parys.

The correctness of present Defense Ministry policy is best illustrated by the fact that Poland is now included in the category of potential NATO allies. In Parys' opinion, the decisions on Poland's cooperation with NATO reached during NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner's visit to Poland and Prime Minister Olszewski's visit to the United States prove that the West approves of the changes to the Defense Ministry.

"We want to create a national army, but it must function according to Western standards so that it may switch over to tactical cooperation at any time," said Jan Parys.

According to the defense minister, Poland has a chance to consolidate its sovereignty because right now this depends more on us than on any external factors.

Former Intelligence Head To Join Walesa Staff

AU0605185292 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2-3 May 92 p 2

["xx"-signed report: "Former Intelligence Chief To Work for President"]

[Text] We have learned from sources close to the Belvedere that Colonel Henryk Jasik, chief of intelligence from 1989 until March of 1992 when he was recalled by Minister Macierewicz in March, is to receive a post in the National Security Bureau, which is subordinate to the president. It is envisaged that Jasik will head the National Security Bureau Information Department.

Colonel Jasik was a Ministry of Internal Affairs employee for many years in the Polish People's Republic. He was appointed head of the First Department of the Office for the Protection of the State (that is, civilian intelligence) under Mazowiecki.

The National Security Bureau was formed in 1991 to assist the president in exercising his powers as head of the Armed Forces. The staff of the bureau has been recently increased. Many of the persons holding posts in it were formerly functionaries of the Office for the Protection of the State and military intelligence.

Search of Police Files Not Ordered by Ministers

LD0605144192 Warsaw PAP in English 2230 GMT 5 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 5—Former head of the State Protection Office (UOP) Andrzej Milczanowski denied having been ordered by one of the prime ministers or ministers of internal affairs to check personal files of candidates running for parliamentary seats and see whether they cooperated with secret police (SB).

Milczanowski ruled out carrying out of such an operation behind his back and explained: "Being head of the office, I had the right and duty to obtain information from UOP's archives about persons or groups, especially those going to take part in making major state decisions, which I did with a full sense of responsibility."

Joint Use of Russian Airfield, TV Center Planned

LD0605224492 Warsaw PAP in English 1120 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 6—An agreement on the joint use of a Russian military airfield and TV centre in the southwestern town of Legnica was signed on Tuesday [5 May] by its governor Andrzej Glapinski and commander of the northern group of the Soviet Army, Gen. Viktor Dubynin, assistant to the Governor Marek Frankow, said on Wednesday [6 May].

The Russian side has been their sole user so far.

Under the agreement the "Porty Lotnicze-Legnica" company will be charged for the use of the airfield, while Russians will keep its ground personnel on stand-by. The state treasury and local government are the company's shareholders.

The agency of regional development "Arleg" will be charged for broadcasting its programmes from the Russian TV centre.

Daily on Recently Discovered 'Booby Trap'

AU0605201792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1729 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/5/1992—Referring to the booby trap recently discovered in Bucharest ADEVARUL wonders in its Wednesday May 6 issue who was the target? One thing is certain, the paper opines, that a mass murder has been pursued. This is proved by the large quantity of explosive (about 6 kg) and the way in which the bomb was conceived. The 2,000 steel balls were meant for as many potential victims (dead and wounded). The newspaper also notes the fact that Arab letters were found on the detonators and that the car had been rented by an Iraqi citizen. The bomb was made by a professional who used parts manufactured in other countries.

Reminding the fact that the bomb virtually crossed half of Bucharest the paper also wonders: how could the materials used to make the bomb be smuggled into this country and by which way? Do such parts still exist in this country so that other death-sowing machines could be built?

Iliescu Rejects Offer To Open Hungarian Consulates

AU0605152892 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian
25-26 April 92 pp 1, 5

[V. Alexandrescu article: "Mr. Csoti Beats His Head Against a Brick Wall"]

[Text] Budapest's strategy toward Romania and especially toward its most sought-after part—Transylvania—has undergone significant changes since the events in December 1989, so that its revisionist policy—which has never been given up—now also includes all sugar and honey attempts to gain the goodwill of the Bucharest authorities in some issue or other (see for instance the "open skies" agreement), each and every chance offered by bilateral contacts being used for this purpose with "diplomatic" stubbornness. Hungary is interested in opening two consulates in Romania (in Cluj and Timisoara). However, as the saying goes, many go out for wool and come home shorn. There used to be a Hungarian Consulate in Cluj during the years of the Ceausescu regime, but it was eventually closed, as relations between Budapest and Bucharest became tense. Reopening it would mean a problem and the opening of a new one in Timisoara, in the "cradle of the December revolution"—as this idea was initiated by Pastor Laszlo Tokes—would also mean a problem, yet of a different nature. Both would request meticulous preparatory work and concrete agreements that cannot be accomplished overnight but rather only in conformity with currently valid international laws and treaties.

In an interview with the Budapest newspaper UJ MAGYARORSZAG [New Hungary], Gyorgy Csoti, vice president of the foreign policy commission of the Hungarian

Parliament, talking about the meeting he had with Romania's President, Mr. Ion Iliescu during the international conference held in Athens two weeks ago, said that the head of the Romanian state connects the opening of a general consulate of Hungary in Cluj to the solving of other problems that are currently distorting the good relations that should exist between the two countries.

President Iliescu said that in his opinion it would be pointless to open a new Hungarian representation in Romania, at least under the current circumstances. In the mentioned interview Gyorgy Csoti reasserted the (formal) position of Hungary—which allegedly does not want state borders to be altered by use of force, but which is duly taking notice of the changes going on in Central and Eastern Europe—according to which altering state borders cannot be excluded if it is the will of the people living in that area. Anyone must admit that Mr. Csoti's statement would confuse even a well-meaning man. On the one hand, he reiterates the principle of inviolability of the current state borders, generally acknowledged after World War II and which also lie at the bedrock of the CSCE process and the Paris Charter. On the other hand, he openly states Hungary's intention to seize every opportunity that could lead to the altering of state borders/frontiers to its advantage. Thus, as Mr. Csoti said, Budapest aims to "abolish" state borders in Europe, including the Romanian-Hungarian border. Nevertheless, Bucharest seems intransigent in the issue of inviolability of its border with Hungary. The Hungarian parliamentarian also hints at the fact that Romania might have a different stand on this issue toward Ukraine, with respect to Romanian territories included in this country as a consequence of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact.

By suggesting to the Romanian president that a joint Romanian-Hungarian commission of historians should be set up to examine whether Romanian ethnic groups already existed or not in 10th century Transylvania (!?), Mr. Csoti—a true mouthpiece of the authorities in Budapest—wants in fact to place the issue of opening a consulate in Cluj into a larger framework that could ensure more legitimacy and historic credibility—as Hungary's leadership might think—to the same old, totally groundless claims.

FSN's Roman Comments on Presidency Candidates

AU0505205292 Bucharest Romania Television
Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 5 May 92

[Text] Wishing to brief the press on his visit last week to the United States of America, the leader of the National Salvation Front [FSN], Mr. Petre Roman, held a news conference today. It eventually went way beyond that topic by also covering political issues of current and future significance.

We noted as very important the fact that the FSN supports the efforts of Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan to hold general elections as soon as possible. Petre Roman assessed that postponing elections will irrevocably endanger the granting of foreign loans to Romania, which will further

worsen the country's current economic situation and will bring about major social discord.

Concerning the fact that [Intelligence Service director] Mr. Virgil Magureanu is taking the liberty of manipulating the files of the former Securitate right now, at such a moment, claiming to open them for the public seems incredibly grievous to me; such a thing is sheerly inadmissible in today's Romania, Petre Roman said.

Concerning the former Romanian king's recent visit to Romania, Petre Roman said that any comments would be superfluous and mere speculation, as Romania has a Constitution endorsed by referendum. If restoration of the monarchy is ever to be discussed, this should happen under democratic circumstances in order to avoid social tension.

Concerning the issue of nomination for Romania's presidency, Mr. Petre Roman said that the FSN is still busy with finding a candidate.

Asked about the decision of the Ecologist Movement of Romania to nominate Mr. Mircea Druc [former prime minister of the Republic of Moldova and current president of the Christian Democratic Popular Front of Moldova] for Romania's presidency, Mr. Petre Roman answered that no matter who becomes president of Romania, he will have to fully comply with the stipulations of the Romanian Constitution and to ensure balance in this society, which sometimes delivers conflicting messages to him. Personally, I wonder whether Mr. Mircea Druc is able to do such a thing, Petre Roman added.

Similarities of Iliescu, Campeanu Strategies Posed

AU0505123292 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 24 Apr 92 p 5

[Sorin Marculescu article: "Two Presidents Shake Hands"]

[Text] Two presidents have started their televised election campaign taking advantage of the money and nerves of the public. The first one, the president of the Romanian fear [as published], Ion Iliescu, unearths (in Bravov!) the communist slogan of class struggle and class hatred saying: "Unlike others, I trust the workers' class." Thus, after scores of difficult years of a failing system called communism, during which the workers' class moved farther and farther from the entrance to paradise and really felt what it meant to trust a single party and to play the role of a leading class, a role that was forced on it, here comes our vigorous and repulsive nomenklatura member who remembers to use the tactics of flattering workers perfidiously.

I think that this is the clearest disclosure of his communist nostalgia and of his concealed sympathy for the lethargic Romanian Communist Party, a sympathy thoroughly concealed by attractive expressions. What does

the Securitate fan and Marxist Iliescu expect? His electoral goals are obvious because he is using the same method of sowing hatred that he has applied ever since he has promoted himself, relaying on terrorists' bullets and the clubs of the miners. You are courting a social class and preparing it as a shock force to shut others up! What counts for you are the demagogic rights that resulted from the class struggle and not the real human and people's rights. What kind of trust does our bigot-free thinker expect? Does he expect the said workers' class to work for a salary amounting to next to nothing and smilingly build neosocialism? Does he expect them again to become the class that serves the nomenklatura? Does he expect them to submit to the obedient "driving-belt"-type trade union? Does he expect them to calm down the peasantry, which went too far with its dreams of land ownership? And attention: Ion Iliescu trusts people "unlike others"! It is a new warning directed at democratic parties that, without trivial acts, propose coherent programs for economic recovery, under conditions of full observance of human rights, not just the rights of one social class or another! But here comes a surprise! There is another president, who—it is becoming increasingly clear—is a colleague of Ion Iliescu as far as pseudo intellectualism and empty words are concerned, namely Radu Campeanu. He assures us that those parties that until yesterday were friendly parties, as a matter of fact are totalitarian and communist parties! And all this just because on the night of 17 April, in front of the National Liberal Party headquarters, anti-Campeanu slogans disturbed the speech delivered in the baritone voice of the most distinguished politician. Something forces me to make certain connections in time, because there is an older connection of a political nature and of speculative strategies between the two presidents. From the very beginning, on 28 January 1990, the liberals quickly and quietly withdrew from the rally, but their disguised spies learned the method of Iliescu-type diversions, namely breaking windows and bringing in the stupid people without forgetting the well programmed television. None of these elements was missing from the National Liberal Party maneuvers on 17 April but somehow, in an inexplicable way, the police told the truth, namely that the little window in question had been broken for a long time and the splinters had simply never been cleared away, and on the whole, everything was too far fetched to make Radu Campeanu's farce credible. Thus, here is another president broken to pieces and in need of a shovel! The great service Mr. Campeanu did to his party has already been seen, confirming the political clearheadedness of the optimistic president: On 19 April in the village of Sapinta, where the liberals ran with their own candidate in the local elections, the National Salvation Front won the elections. I am sorry for the liberal idea that I still greatly trust. Well, bury the idea and keep smiling!

Press Reacts to Druc's Presidency Nomination

AU0605144492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1339 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/5/1992—A number of political personalities express their opinions in the May

5 press on the nomination of Mircea Druc, the former prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, for Romania's Presidency, made at the recent congress of the Romanian Ecologist Movement [MER].

Marcian Bleahu, minister of the environment, deputy-chairman of the MER: "We like Mr. Druc very much, we hold him in much esteem, but unfortunately such a proposal is not constitutional. Romania's Constitution specifies that the country's president has to be a Romanian citizen residing in Romania, which, unfortunately, is not the case."

Gheorghe Malarciuc, chairman of the Ecologist Party of the Republic of Moldova, sees in this nomination "the most extraordinary assistance Romania has granted us so far." Even if things do not go further, it's extraordinary, but if we go further in the electoral campaign, towards brotherhood and propaganda of national ideas, we will have a chance that the dream of the Romanians on both banks of the Prut River come true in the near future," opines the leader of the Bessarabian ecologists.

Many question marks appeared in the press on the said event. *CURIERUL NATIONAL* asks itself whether Mr. Druc's nomination does not signify a possible fusion of political forces. "The Moldovan party led by Mr. Druc corresponds to the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd] of Romania. Could that be a preamble for the MER's joining PNTCD? It's possible, but not probable."

The daily *DIMINEATA* writes: "Asked about his intentions, Mircea Druc said that the decisions of the latest congress of the Christian Democratic Popular Front of Moldova recommends that the residents of all Romanian territories participate in the elections to be held in Romania. A christian democrat turns ... ecologist."

For its part, *COTIDIANUL* asks: "Is that a sophisticated scenario of the power, either in the National Salvation Front [FSN]-Iliescu variant or in the FSN-Petre Roman one, in order to mislead the public opinion in Romania by an electoral subterfuge, that can have a certain impact on the electorate for a while?"

TINERETUL LIBER considers the option made at the MER congress to be "a historic act," as "Mr. Druc is a Romanian who keeps himself right."

Mircea Druc, chairman of the Christian Democratic Popular Front of Moldova, former premier of the Republic of Moldova is a supporter of Bessarabia's union with Romania, its parent country.

He made public statements on a gradual union of Bessarabia with Romania and asked that Bessarabians take part in the legislative elections to be held in Romania.

On December 1, 1991, Mircea Druc was elected chairman of the National Council for Reunification, made up of parliamentarians of the Republic of Moldova and Romania.

Deputies Endorse Decision on Party Coalitions

AU0605201192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1859 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/5/1992—The Chamber of Deputies resumed its proceedings in plenum on Wednesday, May 6, debating and approving the articles of the bill on the election of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate.

After the legislative forum voted the application of the proportional representation system at the legislative elections, an idea supported the previous day by the quasi-totality of the speakers, Deputy Ioan Gavra (Romanian National Unity Party) raised the thorny question of the percentage of votes a coalition of parties must get to be represented in parliament. In his opinion this is a moral and not political question, to pretend of a coalition of parties to get a larger number of votes than of a party running alone in the elections. This point of view was also backed by representatives of other political groups. On the other hand, the opponents of this point of view maintained that a coalition of parties fields a single list of candidates just as a party running alone in the elections and it is a discrimination to require a different number of votes for an equal number of lists.

The representative of the executive, Mihai Constantinescu, took the same stand upholding the fact that a coalition was a first stage in becoming a political force and, consequently, they must be encouraged.

After a break, Dan Martian informed those present that following the deliberations of the Standing Bureau with the leaders of the parliamentary groups he proposes that a compulsory threshold be set for the political coalitions to run in the upcoming elections of four per cent for the first party and one per cent for every party in the coalition but not more than eight per cent, on an aggregate, of the total number of votes cast. Submitted to vote the solution was validated with a majority of votes and will be materialized in a separate article of the bill.

PDN Leader Favors Economic 'Shock Therapy'

AU0605173392 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL
in Romanian 30 Apr 92 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Radu Sorescu, president of the National Rightist Party, by Andrei Alexandru; place and date not given: "We Offer Special Social Protection"]

[Text] As part of our initiative to inform the public about politicians, existing political parties, or parties that were just registered at the Bucharest Municipal Court, today we present the National Rightist Party [PDN].

[Sorescu] The PDN was born out of a political and economic necessity. The Romanian political landscape is incomplete. The left and center-left spectrum is filled up with many parties. However, on the other side of the balance, there is only one right-wing party, namely Marian Munteanu's Pro Romania Movement [MPR].

from which we differ completely. As a center-right party I would mention the National Liberal Party [PNL], with which we would like to enter into an alliance. Regarding the PNL's exit from the Democratic Convention [CD], I believe that Mr. Campeanu did a wise thing. There can be no center politics in the Balkans. A party calling itself a center party is either a utopia or a diversion.

[Alexandru] What is the difference between you and Marian Munteanu?

[Sorescu] First, the MPR does not have a very clear program. They have an intellectual ideology. Our approach is pragmatic.

[Alexandru] If they have no program, why do you say you are different?

[Sorescu] This is the very subtlety of it all. They do not have a program, while we do.

[Alexandru] Tell us something about yourself.

[Sorescu] I am 28 years old. I graduated from the Letters University, the class of 1990. After the revolution, I worked for three months in education, and I took the exam for a PhD degree. My doctorate thesis will be entitled "Monograph of Ideas in the Work of Octavian Paler."

[Alexandru] Does he know about that?

[Sorescu] Of course. We have been friends for a long time, since 1987, when the Securitate was following and taking pictures of us in the streets. I was a student, and he was a dissident. After the revolution, I worked for the magazines EXPRESS MAGAZIN, VIITORUL ROMANESC, and ZIG ZAG. Now, since I have become party president, I have resigned from all my jobs in the press.

[Alexandru] We would like you to present a few ideas from your program.

[Sorescu] Let us begin with the economic part. We want to take the privatization process to its end, through

shock therapy. Our program provides for the privatization of 85-90 percent of the national economy over a period of maximum one year.

[Alexandru] Has your party made studies in this respect?

[Sorescu] I am a philologist, hence I do not wish to become involved in economic arguments, but we have special teams dealing with the subject. Therefore, we want to privatize everything, except for the arms and defense industry. We struggle to attract investments from the West. We are against investment from the Levant. Therefore, our platform advocates the nationalization, through reimbursement, of all companies with employers from the Levant. From a social viewpoint, it is high time to offer special social protection. We believe that if the economic levers are regulated according to our vision, we can distribute bread in Romania free of charge. One of the key points of our program is: "The man and his tractor." The peasant's private property should not be limited to 10 hectares, but it should go up to 50 hectares; anyone who wants land should be able to buy up to 200-300 hectares, so we can have farms like in the West.

[Alexandru] Do you expect great public endorsement for your party?

[Sorescu] I sent an aide to Iasi to collect the respective signatures, and we rejoiced that people were lining up to join. There were 200-300 people in one single cue....

[Alexandru] What is your position on the national problem?

[Sorescu] Let us take the Gypsy ethnic group. Many of them are immoral. We will take a stand on this matter and will support the legal bodies in defending Romania's image. The Gypsies are bringing shame upon us abroad. For instance, they go to France and say that they are the heirs of the revolution and even curse French citizens. The Romanian worker no longer receives exit visas to the West because of the Gypsies. We will work out plans for the integration of Gypsies in the society. There is no such danger coming from the Jews, as they are honorable citizens.

Goulding Hesitates on Peace-Keeping Mission

LD0605153792 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1509 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Sarajevo, May 6 (TANJUG)—The U.N. secretary general's special envoy Marrack Goulding said on Wednesday that his visit to Bosnia's capital Sarajevo was aimed at investigating the feasibility of a peacekeeping mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the moment he did not know whether it would take place, and if so, when. Goulding spoke at a news conference before a meeting with the representatives of the republic's three national parties—of Muslims, Serbs and Croats. The whole action will require much pondering and careful examination, he said.

"Nervousness and impatience in this environment should not affect the positions of the national party leaders in Bosnia-Herzegovina," Goulding added.

Although in Sarajevo since Tuesday, he said he was still unable to see what was really going on in the city, "but it is obvious that horrible things are happening in Sarajevo and throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Goulding also said that there was a very strong feeling in the United Nations and the European Community that a special involvement was needed to prevent further clashes. He was still not sure what should be done. On Tuesday, Goulding met Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic, president of the republican rump Presidency which the Serb representatives quit last month, and Branko Djeric, premier of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The republic was proclaimed by Bosnian Serbs as a reaction to the April 6 recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina and as a sign of disagreement with the Muslim-Croatian coalition making decisions, and even requesting the recognition of the republic's independence, contrary to the constitution, i.e. without their agreement.

Shots Fired at Goulding, Nambiar, Izetbegovic

LD0605195492 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1921 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Sarajevo, May 6 (TANJUG)—Someone fired shots at the car convoy with United Nations Under Secretary General Marrack Goulding, United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Commander Lieut-Gen Satish Nambiar and Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the rump Presidency of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sarajevo TV reported. Izetbegovic's car was hit, but no one was wounded, Sarajevo TV said. Sarajevo TV reported that shots were fired at the convoy in Bascarsija, the heart of the Bosnian capital. There has been no official announcement of who caused the incident. After the incident, Goulding, Nambiar and Izetbegovic toured some destroyed buildings in Sarajevo as had been planned.

Leaders Hold 'Secret Talks,' Reach Accord

AU0605181892 Vienna ORF Television Network
in German 1730 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Secret talks to achieve a solution to the conflict in Bosnia were held in Graz today. The leader of the Serbs in Bosnia, Radovan Karadzic, and a representative of the Croats in Bosnia met behind closed doors at Thalerhof Airport. After the talks, Karadzic stated that the two sides have agreed on Bosnia's cantonization on 15 May, which means that the Serbs, the Croats, and the Muslims will live relatively autonomously in their regions. At the same time, a new cease-fire has reportedly been agreed upon in Graz.

Karadzic Confirms Agreement

LD0705013592 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2243 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Vienna May 6 (TANJUG)—President of the Serbian Democratic Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina (BIH) Radovan Karadzic stated on Wednesday night to Austrian Television that he has reached agreement with the representatives of Croats in the BIH side on ethnic division of the BIH into autonomous regions. The map of Bosnia-Herzegovina would be re-drawn by May 15, he said, after meeting with Franjo Boras in the Austrian city of Graz. Citing an announcement made by spokesman for the press of the Graz Airport, the Austrian media made public on Wednesday afternoon a report saying Karadzic met in secret in Graz with an unidentified representative of the Croats in the BIH. No press release was issued on the talks. Karadzic also said he agreed with Boras on ceasefire that should go into effect as of Wednesday midnight.

Serb-Green Beret POW Exchange Held in Sarajevo

LD0605154792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 6 May 92

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 6 May (TANJUG)—An exchange of POWs took place in the Sarajevo suburb of Medjarici this afternoon: 24 Serbian prisoners of war from the village of Alipasino Polje were exchanged for 30 Green Berets who were captured last night by fighters of the Serbian Territorial Defense.

"No harm was caused to a single member of the Green Berets captured in Dobrinja. They were fairly treated, and now you can see these civilians from Alipasino Polje, all these signs of the cruellest torture," commander of the Ilidza public security station Tomo Kovac told journalists at a press conference in the international press center of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

Sarajevo 'Ethnic Fighting' Reported

LD0605223192 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2205 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 6 (TANJUG)—Ethnic fighting was reported on Wednesday in Doboj, central Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in the area of Zvornik, eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, while in other regions of that former Yugoslav republic the ceasefire agreement was mostly honoured, say TANJUG's correspondents. In Sarajevo, which was mostly quiet today, fire was opened on a convoy of vehicles in which United Nations Undersecretary Marrack Goulding, commander of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Lieutenant-General Satish Nambiar and President of Bosnia-Herzegovina's rump Presidency Alija Izetbegovic were driven, reports Sarajevo Radio. Izetbegovic's vehicle was hit but nobody in it was wounded.

It has not yet been officially announced who caused the incident. After the incident, Goulding, General Nambiar and Izetbegovic proceeded to witness some of the demolition in Sarajevo. Clashes also resumed in Doboj today. The town's crisis committee demanded from Croat and Moslem forces to stop their attacks or fire would be opened on their positions from all available weapons.

Last week, Doboj was attacked by Moslem para-military groups. Serb Territorial Defence units and the Yugoslav Army have been in control of the town since Monday. Fighting continues also in the area of the town of Zvornik. Two Serb territorials were killed and nine were wounded in an attack by Moslem forces on three Serb villages near Zvornik, sources close to Serb territorials told TANJUG's correspondent today. TANJUG's correspondent from Mostar reported sporadic shooting in that western Herzegovina town.

Bosnia-Herzegovina's Moslem-Croat Territorial Defence Headquarters informed the Yugoslav Army Command in Sarajevo that it was "ready to exchange prisoners." It proposed an exchange of two Yugoslav Army colonels for eight of its territorials.

Representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Moslem-Croat leadership and the Yugoslav Army met in Sarajevo last night and today, and will meet again tomorrow, reports Sarajevo Radio. In the Serb part of Sarajevo, television of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina broadcast its first daily half-hour programme today. Correspondents report food shortages in a number of Bosnia-Herzegovina's towns.

Army Withdraws From Travnik

AU0605161392 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Netork
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 May 92

[Ljuba Djuric report from Travnik]

[Text] The agreement by the working group of the Presidency of the Travnik commune and the representatives of the Travnik garrison on the peaceful takeover of the Army's movable and fixed assets in this commune was realized at approximately 1330 today.

At that time a convoy of vehicles with soldiers, officers, and their families left the barracks. They set off in the direction of [word indistinct] near Travnik. According to Boris Maticic, president of the Travnik crisis headquarters, security was provided to them by the members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Croatian Defense Council, and town's Territorial Defense, as envisaged by the agreement. After the Army's departure, shooting in the air could be heard from the barracks that died out at approximately 1400. Immediately after Army's departure from the garrison, an air-raid alarm was sounded in Travnik at 1340. The residents started leaving shelters at 1550, when air-raid alarm ended.

Cease-Fire Holds Throughout Most of Republic

LD0605161192 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1523 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Sarajevo, May 6 (TANJUG)—The cease-fire in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina which was signed yesterday through the mediation of the European Community (E.C.) and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is mostly respected, Yugoslav Army General Milan Aksentijevic told TANJUG today. Gen. Aksentijevic said that there was no shooting last night and that all Yugoslav Army garrisons have been provided with water, electricity, food, and telephone communications, as agreed. The Army has also been allowed to collect its dead and wounded. Gen. Aksentijevic said that the articles of the agreement signed yesterday were not respected in the towns of Konjic and Travnik. Lord Carrington's envoy Kolm Doyle confirmed that yesterday's agreement was respected in Sarajevo last night and today. Negotiations continued today between representatives of the incomplete Muslim-Croat Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina (without Serb representatives) and the Yugoslav Army.

Gen. Aksentijevic went to the talks, organized in the building where the UNPROFOR headquarters are located, with Doyle and Hose Santos, head of the E.C. observer mission. Gen. Aksentijevic said that the agenda of today's talks would include the implementation of Tuesday's agreements and questions pertaining to the interests of the Yugoslav Army, the authorities, and Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens.

The cease-fire agreement was signed last night. On Sunday, the Muslim-Croat paramilitary brutally attacked a Yugoslav Army convoy, which was travelling under a U.N. flag and under an agreement reached with President of the Rump Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Alija Izetbegovic. Four Yugoslav Army officers were killed in the attack, several soldiers were wounded, and around 200 soldiers were captured.

The Muslim-Croat paramilitary, which launched a heavy attack on the military hospital in Sarajevo on Monday and Tuesday, yesterday captured the biggest civilian hospital in Sarajevo, mistreated Serb doctors, and carried out a 'war selection of the wounded.' The (Muslim paramilitary) green berets even inflicted fresh wounds on soldiers hospitalized after the Sunday attack on the convoy. E.C. observers and UNPROFOR commander, General Satish Nambiar have been informed about this. This is the second truce signed through the mediation of the European Community. The first cease-fire, signed on April 12, was not respected.

Serbs Prepared for JNA Withdrawal

LD0605160492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Trebinje, 6 May (TANJUG)—Bozidar Vucurevic, president of the Assembly of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina, stated today that the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) from Bosnia-Hercegovina will not find the Serbs unprepared. Vucurevic told a TANJUG reporter that the JNA will be transformed into the Territorial Defense of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina. The first Trebinje brigade of the Territorial Defense of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina was founded about 20 days ago, he said, and the transformation will soon be continued.

It is only conscripts from Hercegovina that will join units of the Territorial Defense, Vucurevic stressed. Young men from this area doing their national service in other parts of the country will return, and the Territorial Defense units will also include JNA members of Hercegovina origin. This will secure, Vucurevic said, the successful protection of our borders. We will insist on the precise demarcation of the frontline; members of the Territorial Defense will never be the first to open fire, Vucurevic said.

Territorials Report 'Enemy' Truce Violations

AU0705082092 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 7 May 92

[Report by Muhamed (?Zlathasanovic) of the Information Service of the Sarajevo Region Territorial Defense]

[Text] Despite the truce agreed in Sarajevo, there have unfortunately been many examples of its being violated, particularly by the Serbian-Chetnik formations. The Territorial Defense forces have been respecting the truce, but that has been abused by the enemy's formations. Eyewitnesses have been reporting all the time about the brutal maltreatment of the citizens of Grbavica and the part of Hrasno including Lenin Street, Brotherhood and Unity Street, Zagreb Street, and [name indistinct] Street.

The Regional Headquarters of the Territorial Defense of Sarajevo hereby addresses the world public as well and

asks the UNPROFOR forces and European observers to take measures to protect innocent civilians. We are again calling on the citizens of Sarajevo to offer all kinds of resistance to the aggressor and defend themselves mutually and together, and thereby help the Territorial Defense forces.

Muslim Party Rejects Serb Forces Measures

AU0705084092 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 7 May 92

[Text] In its announcement today on the occasion of the imposition of a curfew between 2200 [2000 GMT] and 0600 by the Serbian defense forces, as well as mobilization and dispatch to individual battlefields in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Party of Democratic Action of Banja Luka points out that Muslims in this town will not and cannot accept such a plan by the Serbian defense forces, which, as it is added, are lead by the Army. The announcement also says that telephone lines with almost all regions except for Zagreb have been disrupted.

Muslim Links With Al-Qadhdhafi Alleged

LD0605135192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1113 GMT 6 May 92

[By Vjekoslav Radovic]

[Text] Belgrade, May 6 (TANJUG)—One week after the European Community (E.C.) and the United States hastily recognised the "legal and democratically elected government" of Yugoslavia's breakaway republic Bosnia-Hercegovina it was revealed that its Moslem leaders had close links with Libya and Moslem fundamentalists in some Arab countries. The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) on April 14 captured an arms smuggler named Senaid Memic, 39, who later testified in front of television cameras about the links of Bosnian Moslem leaders with Libya, a sworn enemy of the West. Memic, himself a Moslem, said that Libya had financed an illegal organisation whose goal was to set up a Moslem state in Bosnia and southern regions of the Yugoslav Republic Serbia—Kosovo and Sandzak, with predominantly Moslem populations.

The organisation called "People's Democratic Movement" was headed by a certain Rasim Kadic and was involved in smuggling weapons from abroad and from two other Yugoslav breakaway republics—Slovenia and Croatia, Memic testified.

"I know that...the organisation 'People's Democratic Movement' was initiated and financed by the Libyan consulate in Sarajevo," Memic said. He added that the Libyan consulate in Sarajevo and an employee in the Libyan embassy in Belgrade, Amer Misurati, had organized a stay in Libya for 57 young Moslems, including Memic and his family, in August 1991.

"During the stay we attended organised lectures on the Libyan political system and had contacts with representatives of Libyan revolutionary committees," Memic said. The Libyan embassy in Belgrade has denied the charges and Misurati was not available for comment. Memic said that from September 1991 until his arrest he himself had purchased, transported in several shipments and distributed about 5,000 automatic rifles of different types and about 1,400,000 bullets for the needs of members of the ruling Moslem Party of Democratic Action (SDA) in Bosnia. He said it was all done with the knowledge and help of Bosnia's top leaders including President Alija Izetbegovic and Interior Minister Alija Delimustafic, both Moslems.

"At the request of President...Alija Izetbegovic, from the second shipment I gave 30 automatic M-56 rifles to an SDA representative from Bosanski Samac (a town in Northeast Bosnia)," Memic testified. Izetbegovic became Bosnian president after his party, the SDA, won the majority of seats in the republic's parliament in the first free elections since World War Two in November 1990.

He had formed a frail coalition with the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) and the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) but Serbs, who have opposed Bosnia's secession from Yugoslavia, have walked out of all government bodies after being constantly outvoted by the Moslem-Croat secession coalition.

Bosnia's 4.3 million population comprises 44 per cent Moslems, 32 per cent Serbs and 17 per cent Croats. Serbs have meanwhile proclaimed their own Serb Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the territories where they are a majority and bloody fighting erupted after Izetbegovic won international recognition for the entire republic on

April 7. Izetbegovic has presented himself in the West as a liberal and democratically oriented politician but he has a long record of adherence to Moslem fundamentalism. He was jailed on two occasions in the post-war communist Yugoslavia for propagating Moslem fundamentalism and the creation of a Moslem state in Europe. Since becoming president he has frequently travelled to Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Libya and other Arab countries.

His foreign minister Haris Silajdzic [name as received], who seems to have exercised the decisive influence on U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in winning American recognition for Bosnia, had also spent several years in Libya.

Turning a blind eye to the complex problems and inter-ethnic rivalries in Bosnia, Western countries have virtually given Izetbegovic a mandate to subjugate Christian Orthodox Serbs, despite the fact that they are no longer represented in his government, and all this in the name of "democracy."

The West has generally blamed the Republic of Serbia and the JNA for the fighting in Bosnia. It has turned a blind eye to the Croatian invasion of Bosnia and continuous breaches of all agreements by Izetbegovic. Now that only Serbia and Montenegro have decided to continue living together in the newly proclaimed Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and with the JNA pulling out of Bosnia, peace prospects are farther than ever. For close to 1.5 million Serbs in Bosnia have no place to go. Tens of thousands have already fled Bosnia. But others are likely to stay and fight against Islamic domination.

As for Izetbegovic and his foreign allies, it remains a mystery how a close friend of Libyan leader Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi, a sworn enemy of the West, could be an American and European friend.

Tudjman Attends Brussels Peace Conference

*LD0605132692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 6 May 92*

[Text] President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman departed Zagreb airport this morning for Brussels to attend the 12th joint session of the Conference on Yugoslavia. Tudjman is accompanied by Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic; Croatian National Bank Governor Ante Cicin Sain; Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the office of the republican president; and Zeljko Martic, the president's adviser for foreign affairs.

President Tudjman was seen off at Zagreb airport by Franjo Greguric and Zarko Domljan, presidents of the Croatian Government and the Croatian Assembly; Defense Minister Gojko Susak; General Anton Tus, chief of the General Staff; Minister of Internal Affairs Ivan Jarnjak; and Josip Manolic, chairman of the office for the protection of the constitutional system.

Feels 'Optimistic'

*LD0605212292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 6 May 92*

[Statement by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman at Zagreb airport after returning from Brussels conference on Yugoslavia on 6 May—recorded]

[Text] Representatives at the European conference will try to ensure that an end is put to all this business, and it seems to me that—coupled with the efforts of the Helsinki conference—this finally will yield fruit, regardless of the fact that people should not believe those who started and carried out the aggression, as they have been believed so far. However, they have been restricted and hindered increasingly in their multiple intentions.

The very... [changes thought] today's statements by Milosevic and Bulatovic at the conference, that the creation of their federal Yugoslavia contributes to the stabilization of peace in this region, regardless of what is behind it, represent their admission that they will have to withdraw from the other parts. At the same time, their decision to leave the former Yugoslav Army to Bosnia-Herzegovina and to recall their citizens—regardless of all the traps it conceals—also is in line with the obvious admission that they no longer can wage a war of aggression. Consequently, it seems to me that they finally will be forced to agree to give up their aggression and, as far as Bosnia-Herzegovina is concerned, agree to reach a settlement acceptable to both the Serbian and Muslim sides.

However, an open question remains—which Ambassador Cutileiro, who is conducting the talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina, also talked about—regarding the Muslims demonstrating the same readiness to accept what is acceptable not just for the Serbs, but also for the Croats. [as heard]

All in all, some sort of a snail's-pace progress has been achieved and, as for relations between Croatia and the EC, there has been a positive move. Unfortunately, apart from the promise that they will take steps to make all the sides to the conflict see reason, i.e., they finally named the aggressors, etc., I cannot say that we can expect some spectacular progress. But bearing in mind the latest developments at the Helsinki conference, and in light of the proposal that I submitted—I talked on the phone with Vice President Ramljak, who is in New York—I submitted a request, that on my behalf he should request from the UN secretary general the engagement of peace forces.

Within this framework, it seems to me that we can be optimistic and that this plan for ending the occupation of Croatia, withdrawing the former Yugoslav army, and even achieving a cease-fire in Bosnia will be achieved.

Official Request for UN Membership Forwarded

*LD0605210392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 6 May 92*

[Report from New York by correspondent Vladimir Drobnyak]

[Text] Croatia today officially requested admission to the United Nations. Vice Premier Milan Ramljak, accompanied by Mario Nobilo, adviser to the republican president, handed a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali from Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, setting out Croatia's request for admittance into the world organization. Butrus Ghali said that he will forward the document to the Security Council, which will then set in motion the regular procedure for the admission of new countries.

Ramljak handed Ghali the written position of the Croatian Government warning of an escalation of war in zones under UN protection. The secretary general also was given the latest information about the number of refugees who have flooded into Croatia and neighboring countries. The Croatian delegation stressed that the growing problem of refugees cannot be solved without broader international help.

Ramljak also requested the official delegitimization [delegitimizacija] of Yugoslavia on the East River.

Fighting Intensifies on Vinkovci-Vukovar Front

*LD0605125592 Zagreb Radio Croatia in English
1205 GMT 6 May 92*

[Text] In the last 48 hours on the Vinkovci-Vukovar battlefields, 11 people have been killed and another 14 wounded. Information from defense forces in the area state that Serbian militias have heavily attacked civilian targets, reportedly in order to shut down as many places as possible. At the moment, UN forces have taken on the responsibility of curtailing these attacks. It is reported

that there is unrest among the Serbian militias and Serbian Army as soldiers who no longer want to fight are being shot.

The defense authorities in the area have advised inhabitants to evacuate due to the intensification of fighting on the Eastern Slavonian front.

2 Killed in 'Sudden, Fierce' Attack on Osijek

*LD0705100092 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 7 May 92*

[Text] Two people, a married couple, were killed and another person was wounded in the latest fierce attack on Osijek that started early this morning. From Bilje and Darda in occupied Baranja, the aggressor opened heavy artillery fire on all parts of Osijek so that at around 0545 a general alert was sounded for the Osijek area. This sudden and fierce attack lasted until 0700. The citizens of Osijek were advised by Croatian Radio's Osijek studio not to expose themselves to the danger and not to go to work if it was not necessary.

The destructive shells fell on all city districts: Jug 2, Sjenjak, Donji Grad, Vijenac Ivana Mestrovica, as well as the city center where one building was set on fire. Thanks to the speedy intervention of the fire service it was localized.

At the time of this dispatch, occasional explosions can be heard in the distance, while in Osijek negotiations are being conducted with the enemy. It is most likely that this is the reason for the current lull in Osijek as protests over the hotline did not receive any response.

Memorandum on Autonomy of Vojvodina Hungarians

*92BA0858B Zagreb VECERNJI LIST
in Serbo-Croatian 27 Apr 92 p 8*

[Article by M. Nedeljkov: "Annual Convention of Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians: Memorandum on Hungarian Autonomy"—first paragraph is VECERNJI LIST introduction]

[Text] The Hungarian autonomous region would comprise opstinas with a majority Hungarian population: Kanjiza, Senta, Ada, Copa, Becej, Subotica, Backa Topola, and Mali Idos.

Kanjiza—Attempts by the ruling party and the parties close to it in Serbia to vilify the annual convention of Vojvodina Hungarians and to cause disturbances failed. The main reason for this is the exceptionally strong police security around Kanjiza, while a police helicopter patrolled low over the city during the meeting. In addition, the convention was closed to the public.

On the day that the convention was held, the Novi Sad League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia issued a statement declaring that mediation in favor of Hungarian autonomy is simply a step in the direction of a demand for secession, and that the goal of all of this is to completely dismember Yugoslavia and shatter Serbian unity.

According to a report in Novi Sad's DNEVNIK, the atmosphere in Becej was "exceptionally nervous" because of the DZVM [Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians] convention, while the Novi Sad SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] criticized the Hungarian party, saying that Hungarians "sit in the Serbian Assembly, where they participate in its open and closed sessions, but they are holding their annual convention behind closed doors, which elicits doubts about the Community's honorable intentions."

"We have not declared any sort of autonomy, nor did we have any intention to do so," DZVM chairman Andras Agoston told VECERNJI LIST.

Adopted at the convention was a Memorandum on Self-Rule for Hungarians who live in Serbia, and the basic goal of this document is a proposal on changing the Constitution. This change would in fact open up the door to incorporating the plan outlined by Lord Carrington into the Serbian Constitution. Accordingly, personal autonomy presupposes cultural autonomy and special status (like that being demanded for Serbs in Croatia) for opstinas in which Hungarians are the majority population. This autonomy would include a parliament, council, and presidency. In connection with this, details concerning the right to autonomy for opstinas with special status are being drawn up, whereby they would have, for example, their own police and judiciary, autonomous economic development, and the like. The proposal provides for the possibility that opstinas with special status would come together and establish a Hungarian autonomous region. This would comprise opstinas with a majority Hungarian population: Kanjiza, Senta, Ada, Copa, Becej, Subotica, Backa Topola, and Mali Idos.

Janez Drnovsek Addresses Parliament on Economy

92BA0846A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
23 Apr 92 p 3

[Speech by Dr. Janez Drnovsek: "I Am Not Offering Miracles, but Serious Work"]

[Text] The economic situation in Slovenia is more and more uncomfortable for the population. Declining production and employment; the rate of inflation, which is threatening to get out of control; the unexpected trade surplus in the first months of this year, both in trade with the European states and with the former Yugoslav republics; the budget deficit; and the losses in the economy are not signs of a successful and harmonious economic policy. The economic policy instruments that are being used by the principal economic policymakers reflect the discordant and uncoordinated decisions that have been made. With the existing disparity in the partial policies and economic policy goals of individual institutions, which do not even perceive the decisions on policy this year that have been made in this Assembly as being very binding, the overall economic situation is subject to constant threats of sudden blows from a domestic source, Dr. Janez Drnovsek said in his speech to the Assembly.

Among other things, he also said: "We won political sovereignty and an increasingly larger part of the world recognizes it, but the external and internal economic circumstances are not too favorable to Slovenia. The world is in an economic recession, which is putting numerous enterprises in the developed world in serious difficulties. At the same time, the former socialist states in Central and East Europe are facing the same problems as Slovenia.

We in Slovenia are not aware enough of the fact that we are on the very edge of an area that has become one of the world crisis centers, and aware enough of the consequences that we are therefore suffering. This hotbed of crisis is casting its shadow over us as well. It is obvious that Slovenia cannot count on any sort of privileged position either in the world or in the area of the former joint state. It will have to win its own position by hard work and by strengthening its negotiating position.

In addition to all of this, our situation is also complicated by the unresolved issues of the legacy of the former joint state. Numerous formal relationships that were associated with former Yugoslav treaties will have to be recreated. These include above all the financial issue, distribution of the former Yugoslav debts, and the regulation of relations with Western banks and national and international financial institutions.

Our enterprises and our banks are suffering from the serious losses in the past. The financial system is seriously distorted. Because of the unresolved issues and losses in the past, it cannot function normally and provide our enterprises the necessary conditions in the struggle for demanding markets throughout the world, or possibilities for development. Fundamental ownership and management relations have not been resolved. The

rules of the game are unclear both to our entrepreneurs and foreign ones. In such a situation, everyone is seeking his own means of survival, and in this regard we do not know in many cases what is really happening with social property—what it is being converted into, and how.

During the past period, our government and our Assembly made efforts to find a way out of that situation, but there have been no real results. The complexity of the tricameral Assembly decisionmaking and the simultaneous great political dissension have been reflected in the slow and ineffective solution of the key problems faced by Slovenia in the economic area. There is no longer a majority coalition in parliament, and the government only has minority support, so that the possibility of effective action has been substantially reduced. It is obvious that the only real way out of the political situation that has arisen lies in elections as soon as possible, which would demonstrate the new political reality, and would make possible more effective decisionmaking and more rapid resolution of the difficulties described, in a new parliament, and in accordance with the new constitution.

I will not conceal the fact that I would have preferred to have the new government and my being the premier-designate come about on the basis of new elections. In spite of the fact that perhaps half a year separates us from this, the present situation cannot endure the delay and the loss of time associated with it. What am I offering, in case you support our proposal?

No miracles, but extremely serious involvement in resolving the economic difficulties in particular. I am aware that only part of the problem has been solved by replacing the government. Both the possibility of difficult and slow decisionmaking in the Assembly, and also the necessity of elections as soon as possible, still remain. I will urge that the concept of ownership transformation that has been coordinated with various interests and that you have recently participated in intensively be finally put into effect, and experience quick use in practice.

With the help of needed amendments in several laws, if necessary, I will link the operation of the existing institutions that are responsible for the individual parts of economic policy, and the institutions that have been formed for the necessary financial restructuring of enterprises and banks. I intend to eliminate their inclination, too often displayed, toward individual and uncoordinated activity.

I will ensure more effective current economic policy, and I will link and take care of coordinating its constituent parts. The guideline and goal of my policy will be that the state and its finances have to become a factor in stabilizing the Slovene economy during its transition to a normal, open market economy. The government and the Bank of Slovenia will have to verify and reexamine the

economic policy orientations that they are following, and coordinate monetary, credit, and exchange rate policy, on one hand, with fiscal, income, price, and trade policy, on the other hand.

The budget has been adopted, although it is not closed. The rights to spend have been distributed, and it may happen quite soon that they will force an unplanned large deficit. I will insist on proper and legal use of public money. If I think that rapid and decisive steps are needed to coordinate budgetary policy and public spending as a whole with trends in other areas, I will request special powers for the government.

The necessary interventions in economic structure and economic policy, as well as the situation in our environment, do not permit too much optimism, and promises about a rapid increase in economic activity and employment would be irresponsible. It is possible and advisable to use the period before the elections to halt the negative trends. Halting the negative trends means primarily a decisive anti-inflation policy.

Although for the time being foreign borrowing is more a desire than an objective possibility, we will carefully weigh the real measure of the state's foreign borrowing, especially its entering into the relationships that banks and enterprises should enter into, and also the macroeconomic consequences of borrowing. The fact that thorough and careful decisionmaking on foreign borrowing will be necessary is indicated not only by the unresolved issues in dividing up the assets of our past joint existence, but also the apparently spontaneous occurrence again of a surplus in trade with the former Yugoslav states.

The bright days of our foreign policy are mostly past. Big events and international recognitions will no longer be able to be in the forefront of our international activity. We needed serious and daily involvement in preparing and concluding international arrangements, both with the EC and with other international institutions, especially financial ones. Further settlement of trade issues with the former Yugoslav republics will be urgent.

First Slovene Soldiers Take Oath

92BA0842B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
13 Apr 92 p 2

[Article by Z.M., F.M., and V.S.: "Swearing-In of First Soldiers Was Formal but Relaxed"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] The swearing-in ceremony was attended by numerous high-level politicians, in addition to parents and relatives.

Ljubljana, 12 Apr—In addition to numerous parents and relatives, high-level Slovene politicians also took part in the formal oaths of the first generation of Slovene soldiers. The recruits in Ljubljana were addressed by President of the Presidency Milan Kucan, those in

Slovenska Bistrica by member of the Presidency Dr. Dusan Plut, and those in Kranj by President of Parliament Dr. France Bucar.

Slovenia will strive for peace by political means, President Kucan promised the recruits and all those assembled at the Moscan barracks in Ljubljana. He warned the young soldiers that weapons in peacetime were dangerous primarily to them and their colleagues. Otherwise, he expressed the hope that they would become good soldiers who would be capable of defending freedom. Defense Minister Janez Jansa, in his speech, emphasized that with the oath they were joining the soldiers who had defended Slovene land in the past, and that Territorial Defense [TO] was politically neutral and would never support only one party.

Dr. Plut, in a formal address in front of the renovated barracks in Slovenska Bistrica, emphasized that we had expected a peaceful 1990 in Europe, but our experiences in June confirmed that peace could only be guaranteed by armed forces and an active peace-loving policy. The armed forces should be modest and adapted to our capabilities. Plut also promised that he would try to make the term of military service as short as possible. Prime Minister Lojze Peterle, as he said, also felt that greeting the first generation of the Slovene Army in Slovenska Bistrica was one of the highest honors. Among other things, Peterle also said that the young soldiers were a guarantee that the state would preserve peace for centuries. In this regard, he expressed the hope that they would never use their weapons. If it were necessary to do so, however, he hoped that their weapons would be firm and effective in their hands. The TO commander, General Janez Slapar, also welcomed the young Stajersko and Prekmurje soldiers in Slovenska Bistrica.

There was also a ceremony at the barracks in Kranj on Saturday. The young men from Gorenjska, Primorska, Stajerska, and Ljubljana were addressed in Kranj by Dr. France Bucar.

The guests who welcomed them in Kranj also included Ministers Jelko Kacin and Viktor Brezar, Deputy Defense Minister Miran Bogataj, the Kranj mayor, and several others. The oaths on Saturday were formal, but also relaxed at the same time, especially at the Slovenska Bistrica training center, where the soldiers, after signing the formal oaths, could go home with their parents or friends for Sunday dinner.

TANRAS Divides TANJUG Assets in Ljubljana

92BA0842A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
25 Apr 92 p 2

[Article by Vinko Vasle: "TANJUG Against TANRAS"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] The Belgrade headquarters of TANJUG has made a move; notice to Minister Kacin; mysterious visitors of the TANJUG editorial offices in the capitals of the republics.

Ljubljana, 24 Apr—The establishment of a new press agency in Slovenia—TANRAS—which has been undertaken by unemployed former correspondents of TANJUG's Slovene editorial office, has met with various reactions, and TANJUG's Belgrade headquarters has also finally spoken out.

"Finally," because obviously until now it did not seem worth while to the new "putschist leadership" of the Belgrade headquarters—as it is also called in the former Slovene editorial office—to announce anything at all to its correspondents of long standing who used to report from Ljubljana. They were not even informed that the editorial office for Slovenia had been abolished and that all the former employees were without work and in the street. None of them received any official notification, they say, neither employment records nor any sort of justified explanation of why this happened. Since the journalists and editors of the former Slovene editorial office of TANJUG did not agree with either the method or the "content" of the Belgrade measures, yesterday they informed the public that they were establishing a new press agency in the TANJUG offices.

This time Belgrade responded quickly. The Ministry of Information was sent a letter saying, among other things, that TANJUG did not recognize and would not recognize "any sort of legal and other consequences arising from the establishment of the new agency." Minister Jelko Kacin (who, during an interview, did not yet know about this letter) was informed that the former members of the Slovene editorial office were no longer employed by TANJUG, the Slovene editorial office was criticized for several months of poor work, and finally, the hope that "the Slovene Government would respect civilized norms and a law-governed state" was cited. The Slovene Government was asked to protect TANJUG's property in Slovenia.

At almost the same time, Belgrade's TANJUG also notified the "users" of its information about all the problems. Among other things, it said that "at this moment it is not clear whether—if at all—the present TANJUG correspondent will be allowed to enter the occupied TANJUG offices in Ljubljana." In fact, when the Belgrade headquarters mysteriously abolished the Slovene editorial office, several days before the official decision on this—which is interesting—it announced an internal competition for three journalists and one photoreporter. Former member of the Slovene editorial office Igor Saranovic and former photoreporter Plaverski submitted applications. The former is now the "only authorized TANJUG representative in Slovenia." Jak Koprivc, the former chief and managing editor of the Slovene editorial office, told us that the claim about obstruction of Saranovic's work was an invention, and that he was freely entering and leaving the editorial offices and also reporting for TANJUG. We also assured ourselves of this. Otherwise, the people in Belgrade are reporting that unknown individuals destroyed their offices in Sarajevo a while ago, "and mysterious visitors

changed the lock on the Skopje editorial office overnight." Some people are linking this to "independent actions" by the Serbian correspondents, who were thus supposed to compromise the Macedonian authorities. In this regard, one should know that at the same time as the Ljubljana editorial office, the Belgrade headquarters also closed the Zagreb and Skopje editorial offices, which, in the opinion of the new TANJUG editors in Belgrade, were a "foreign element in the people's eyes," according to Koprivc.

The former TANJUG correspondents and their chief editor think that it was precisely with the staff and political revolution in Belgrade three weeks ago that the decision to halt the work of individual editorial offices was made. The Slovene editorial office's disputes and conflicts with the headquarters, according to what those affected say, go back at least a year and a half, and were aggravated during the June war in Slovenia.

"The main accusation of this putschist leadership in Belgrade is that we kept portraying the situation in Slovenia too neutrally, with too little commitment," Jak Koprivc says. Before the personnel changes, such difficulties with Belgrade did not exist. During that whole time they were talking about how the agency should operate in the new situation, and about how it should be multinational and not the voice of just one milieu, i.e., the Serbian one.

"I maintain that we did our work professionally and objectively. Of course, we did not agree with the demands that we become propagandists for the policy that would be formulated in Belgrade, and instead we kept our professional dignity and autonomy. This was not welcome to the new leadership. It now includes Serbian hawks and pro-Serbian personnel who are proclaiming the slogan that TANJUG is the homeland, and the homeland, of course, is Serbia. TANJUG's new chief and managing editor, Dusan Zupan, claims that TANJUG is the New Yugoslavia, and that is also why he accepted that position," Koprivc says.

In any case, the people at the (former) TANJUG editorial office in Slovenia emphasize that it is cynicism when the people in Belgrade now cite the Slovene law-governed state, when they are the ones who did everything without observing legality and at least good manners. All of the measures against the Ljubljana editorial office were adopted without its knowledge, without justification, without written decisions, and without even talking with the former colleagues. TANJUG's Belgrade leadership also treated some other editorial offices in the former Yugoslavia in the same way. Because of the manner in which those offices were liquidated and the criticisms expressed to date, one can conclude that the Belgrade headquarters was not concerned (solely) with reorganization and a more economical organization of the correspondent network, but also with clearly political reasons. Specifically, the prevailing opinion among the new management personnel in Belgrade, according to the people in Ljubljana, is that in

these times "patriotism" is needed, and that TANJUG cannot and must not be neutral in the Yugoslav wars.

"After everything that has happened, we felt that there was no other possibility but to become independent," Koprivc says. In a referendum, the entire staff of Igor Saranovic's Ljubljana editorial office voted for this, adopted a statute, and submitted a registration application to the court. This does not have anything to do with a coup, the Ljubljana editorial office claims; it was the only possibility.

[Box, p 2]

"In the past, TANJUG functioned as Yugoslavia's press agency, and also had its editorial office in Ljubljana. What is happening now is an attempt at division in advance of the property of TANJUG, which functioned

as an agency of the Yugoslav state and was financed by the federal and republic budgets. We want the accounts cleared with respect to the division of TANJUG's assets, but on the other hand it is a fact that TANJUG is too large an organization for the remainder of Yugoslavia and can no longer be financed. That is why TANJUG is trying to save itself by cutting loose its individual constituent parts, in this case the Slovene editorial office. To the best of my knowledge, this editorial office has been somewhat reduced in size recently, and today I was informed that preparations were being made to establish a separate agency, TANRAS. In this regard, it should be emphasized that the Slovene Press Agency [STA] is already reporting very comprehensively on events in Slovenia, and it would be logical to expect TANJUG to establish ties with STA in providing service," Minister of Information Jelko Kacin stated for DELO.

International

Belgrade Radio Reports on Brussels Conference

AU0605142492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 May 92

[Dragan Colovic report from Brussels]

[Text] Because Alija Izetbegovic did not come to Brussels, the continuation of the Conference on Yugoslavia has begun with separate talks the Conference's chairman Lord Carrington had with the leaders of five republics. We have been told that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic talked with Lord Carrington together.

As we report, participants in the Conference on Yugoslavia are still having a joint luncheon hosted by Lord Carrington. A plenary session will be held after 1500 and will be dominated by questions connected with the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the question of the Yugoslav People's Army's withdrawal from this republic, the question of the succession of the former Yugoslavia, and a division settlement about which a special paper has been prepared by the Conference's working groups. Attention will also be directed to the latest statements by the Yugoslav Presidency about the position of the Yugoslav People's Army after the proclamation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Today's edition of LE SOIR interprets this statement as a diplomatic-political maneuver with a view to neutralizing accusations against Serbia to the effect that it is taking part, as it is put, in an aggression against Bosnia.

The kind of atmosphere in which the continuation of the Conference on Yugoslav has begun is best illustrated by the questions about alleged attacks against Zadar and some other Croatian towns this morning that were put directly to the Serbian president before he had even sat down at the table to talk with Lord Carrington, something which was probably meant to stir up anti-Serbian and anti-Army feelings at the Conference itself, as well as outside the Egmont conference palace.

Details of bilateral talks the Conference's chairman, Lord Carrington had with republican leaders, as well as the contents of the talks at the plenary session will be known about 1700, when a news conference will be held.

We have learned that presidents of three republics, Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia, that is, Kucan, Tudjman, and Gligorov respectively, met in the Egmont palace at 1200. Details of their talks are still not known. Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov has announced plans to hold a news conference in the afternoon about a topic which, as was announced, has no direct connection with the Conference on Yugoslavia. Croatian President Tudjman will talk with European Commission President Jacques Delors this afternoon about economic-financial cooperation between Croatia and the EC.

Deputy Foreign Minister Misses CSCE Meeting

LD0605173292 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1547 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Minister Branko Lukovac was unable to leave for Helsinki to participate in a CSCE crisis committee meeting which should adopt a declaration on Bosnia-Herzegovina later tonight, because the special plane by which he was to fly did not obtain in time the overflight clearance from the German authorities. Lukovac was to state to the participants of the CSCE follow-up meeting the stands of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the role of the Army in this republic and the federal presidency's decisions on its withdrawal.

The special plane by which Lukovac was to fly for Helsinki has obtained the overflight clearances from all countries on its route to Finland except Germany. The German clearance arrived about 9 A.M. when it was too late for the journey. Thus, owing to Germany, the participants of the meeting will not have first-hand information from both parties to the conflict, or more specifically, from the one that Germany and its supporters put into the dock as the main culprit responsible for the armed conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

On the other hand, Foreign Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina Haris Silajdzic, addressing the CSCE follow-up meeting on behalf of the republic's Rump Presidency, sharply attacked the Yugoslav Army and Serbs as 'aggressors' and called for military intervention.

This shows best how damaging the Yugoslav deputy foreign minister's absence from the CSCE meeting could prove for a final decision on the future not only of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which strives for the recognition of its continuity with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

U.S. Said 'Most Radical' in Calls for Exclusion

AU0605152992 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 May 92

[Milorad Denda report from Helsinki]

[Text] Even though the main debate on the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be held in an hour's time at an emergency session of the meeting of CSCE senior officials, at this morning's regular session, more than 20 delegations unexpectedly explained the stands that they will be putting forward.

As had been hinted, the most radical were the representatives of Austria and the United States, who asked that Yugoslavia be excluded from all CSCE activities, accusing the Yugoslav People's Army and Serbia of continuing the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Like most of the representatives, the United States representative talked about the clear, crude, and ever-present

violation of the obligations and decisions of the CSCE, which is actually an introduction to the demand that the Yugoslav delegation be prevented from taking part in decisionmaking.

Calling on the CSCE members to be resolute, the United States representative thought that the suspension of participation in the CSCE is the clearest proof of this resolution and, claiming that the old Yugoslavia has disappeared, said that the state which now wants to retain its name and place in CSCE does not in any way meet the provisions and standards of the CSCE. This radical stand of the United States representative was a prelude to the demand that, as he put it, the Serbian representatives be excluded from all CSCE activities until consensus is reached on them being accepted again. Even the EC, on whose behalf the Portuguese representative spoke, blamed the Yugoslav People's Army and the authorities in Belgrade but was in favor of a different, milder stand as regards the participation of the Yugoslav delegation. The EC stressed that the participation of the Yugoslav delegation in making decisions about Bosnia-Herzegovina has been brought into question but not its participation in all activities of the CSCE.

The representative of the Russian Federation came out in favor of a responsible and moderate approach to the problem, stressing that many problems exist which await answers, like responsibility for the attack on the army convoy in Sarajevo, the detention of Alija Izetbegovic [president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency], and Croatian armed forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He did not vote on the status of the Yugoslav delegation, exercising the right to vote on this this afternoon, even though his moderate stance could mean that the Russian Federation will not be inclined toward such radical measures as expulsion.

An accusatory and biased tone was imparted by Haris Silajdzic, minister of foreign affairs in the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, who asked the CSCE to name the aggressor, as he put it, and this in his opinion is the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. On behalf of the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, he also asked for military aid, without specifying from whom they expect this aid to come.

In the kind of atmosphere that has been created, which was the intention of the initiator of the emergency meeting [Austria] and the whole action to in fact exert pressure on the other delegations, the emergency meeting of the Committee of Senior Officials of the CSCE begins in an hour's time. A declaration is being prepared for it and is now being discussed. It is believed that there will nevertheless be no general consensus in it on the most extreme approaches, like Yugoslavia's complete expulsion from the CSCE, although everyone is hinting at difficult negotiations.

Federal

Government Urges Peaceful Solution of Crisis

LD0605185692 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1758 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 6 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav crisis should be resolved peacefully, through negotiations, with full cooperation from all relevant international political factors, it was assessed today at the first session of the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The structure of the government is the same as that of the former Yugoslavia, for the present.

This stand was expressed on the occasion of a special session of the conference of high officials of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) which is held in Helsinki today, said a statement by the Yugoslav Government Information Secretariat. The CSCE conference is discussing the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Yugoslav Government also warned that the situation in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has disastrous consequences which jeopardize the security of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. A special problem are the over 75,000 refugees from this republic. It was suggested to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government to stop all conflicts and hostilities. Attacks by Muslim-Croat paramilitary formations on the Serb population and the Yugoslav Army recently escalated in this republic.

The Yugoslav Government entrusted the Federal Foreign Ministry to contact the relevant ministries of the former Yugoslav republics about a precise determination of state borders. The Federal Interior Secretariat and the Federal Customs Administration have been instructed immediately duly to implement the regimen of crossing state borders, which will be protected by the Army. The government assessed at today's session that the deployment of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the territories of the Republic of Serb Krajina, which is within the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, was proceeding well.

Full Customs Control Established

LD0505193992 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1530 GMT 5 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 5 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Customs Administration has organized 30 border checkpoints with Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Croatia and the U.N. protected territories and thus established full control over the customs territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Assistant Director of the Customs Administration Mladen Kacavenda told TANJUG on Tuesday.

The federal state now has 14 custom-houses with a total of 75 customs border crossings, and the entire area is covered by 1,722 customs officials, including 1,500 at

the border crossings. Passage into the former Yugoslav republics is possible with a valid Yugoslav or other passport, an identity card, or some other personal identification, Kacavenda said. Draft-eligible male citizens of Yugoslavia will require a permit from the military authorities.

Citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia can take out of the country up to 15,000 dinars (equivalent to 75 German marks) and hard currency equivalent to the value of 5,000 marks. A bank certificate is necessary for the hard currency. Yugoslav citizens are permitted customs-free import or export of goods which are produced in the former Yugoslav republics in full or over 51 percent. Traffic of goods among the republics of former Yugoslavia will now take place by way of compensation, and less frequently through convertible payments, Kacavenda said.

Serbia

Russian Envoy Reaffirms Opposition to Sanctions

LD0505071192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1451 GMT 5 May 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 5 May (TANJUG)—Gennadiy Shikin, Russian ambassador in Belgrade, today said it is not true that Russia is changing its stand toward Serbia and Montenegro because, as he explained, no one in his country wants that.

Ambassador Shikin said this during his visit to the Serbian Economic Chamber and talks with Chamber President Vlado Stojiljkovic on realizing the Serbian-Russian agreement on economic cooperation for 1992. Russia opposes the EC and United States introducing economic sanctions against Serbia since it holds that such measures are unjustified, above all because opportunities for political negotiation have not been exhausted, Shikin said. If some sanctions are introduced again, he specified, Russia will not endorse them, as before when it was the only country opposed to the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the CSCE. [passage omitted]

Milosevic Refutes Challenges to FRY Recognition

LD0705012392 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2233 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Brussels, May 6 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SRJ) [FRY] was not a new state creation but a re-organized form of former Yugoslavia on a smaller territory and that this was why the question of its recognition, i.e., support to the continuity of such a state, was not raised. Milosevic said at the plenary session of the Conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels that nothing more was wanted, but also nothing less than what was acknowledged to others.

Milosevic said that Yugoslavia's state continuity and international personality was in keeping with normal practice in international relations in all similar situations, as well as with standard international conduct in such cases.

The SRJ's proclamation was in keeping with the principles of the Conference on Yugoslavia on the equality of its participants and the equal treatment of all proposed options, particularly the principle stand that the right to secession could not be take precedence over the right to remain devoted to one's own country and continue [to] live together in it, Milosevic said.

The SRJ was proclaimed on April 27 and comprises the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro within the former republican borders.

Milosevic underscored that the question of the SRJ's continuity was strictly separated from the issue of the division of state property and debts, which will be resolved within the Conference on Yugoslavia. Milosevic stressed that the SRJ Constitution contained a list of the minority rights that no European constitution equalled, and which was in complete harmony with the valid European standards in the field. The SRJ is not permeated with the spirit of revanchism and it did not want in any way to hamper the affirmation of the newly-created states and their joining international life, Milosevic said. Milosevic noted that over 300,000 refugees, Serbs from Croatia and Serbs and Moslems from Bosnia-Herzegovina, have fled to Serbia so far. No-one, no matter what his nationality, was fleeing Serbia, Milosevic underscored.

Assembly Passes Election Laws

LD0605202192 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1953 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 6 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Assembly today passed two electoral laws making it possible to constitute the parliament of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by mid-June.

The Assembly adopted a law on electoral units for the election of federal deputies to the Chamber of Citizens and a law on the election of federal deputies to the Chamber of Republics of the future bicameral parliament of the federation, made up of the Yugoslav republics Serbia and Montenegro. The elections for the federal parliament of new Yugoslavia, which was proclaimed on April 27, will be held in Serbia and Montenegro on May 31.

Under the new law, 108 deputies from 54 electoral units will be elected to the federal parliament's Chamber of Citizens.

Half of them will be elected according to the majority system from the list of candidates nominated individually, and the other half according to the proportional system from the list of candidates nominated by political parties.

Under the law on the election of deputies to the Chamber of Republics, the Serbian Parliament will elect 20 deputies.

The composition of deputies will be determined by the Assembly so as to correspond to the party affiliation of deputies in the republican parliament. The Serbian Assembly will also determine the number of deputies to be elected from individual groups of deputies.

Serbian Defence Minister Marko Negovanovic on Wednesday informed the deputies about the military and political situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This part of the session was closed to the public, the republican parliament information service announced.

Macedonia

President Refuses To Change Name of Republic

LD0605192992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1903 GMT 6 May 92

[Text] Brussels, 6 May (TANJUG)—“No one has the right to determine the name of a state. Our final answer is: No, we remain the Republic of Macedonia.”

This was said by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov at a short news conference this evening following the plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia. Asked what he thinks about the conclusions of the ministerial session of the European Community in Guimaraes last weekend, Gligorov welcomed the EC readiness to recognize the independence of Macedonia, but stressed that the new and unacceptable element is the demand that Skopje and Athens agree on the name of the new state.

Serbian Policy of 'Aggression' Attacked

92BA0843A Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 22 Apr 92 p 2

[Commentary by Ljube Profiloski: “The Madness of a Policy”]

[Text] The shells that until yesterday were plowing the earth in the central part of Sarajevo totally exposed the militancy, the aggressiveness, and the objectives of the great-power plan of the post-Yugoslav Serbian political sham. Whereas yesterday's warnings of the aggressive appetites of such a policy may have been viewed as a grave warning, the latest vandalization of the city, which was a synonym for multinational coexistence, followed by the merciless bombing of Bijeljina, Visegrad, Kupres, Foca, Mostar, Capljina, and so forth, exceeded the final critical point of tolerance of the international community. Unless measures are taken to block the aggressive march of the Milosevic generals and the self-described voluntary Serbian (state) guard, the Balkans may turn to ashes, threatening global collective security.

Power and military might are the main features of the policy that is now obviously used to implement the set

objectives. Such a policy pays no attention to international warnings and threats. On the contrary, the reaction to them is an even greater demonstration of power. Thus, the shelling of Sarajevo followed the threats and ultimatums issued by the CSCE, the European Community, the United States, and the entire peace-loving world. It shows no concern whatsoever that the opposition to it and to the Yugoslav National Army, as its exponent and executor, is the target of a broad, synchronized international action, frequently compared to the threats against Iraq immediately preceding the Desert Storm action. It thus clearly indicates that it is not afraid of political pressure, economic sanctions, or a blockade and total international isolation, and even less so of some kind of military intervention by international forces.

The Serbian public views such international threats as an international conspiracy against Serbia and against the Serbian people. The objective is to prepare the public in advance for international isolation. According to this policy, everyone in the world other than Serbia is to be blamed. The political structure in that republic, based on the well-known Eighth Congress of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists, made Serbia and the Serbian people clash with all the other groups in the former Yugoslavia. To it, all the republics were “secessionist” and “threatening” the Serbian people. Now the clash is with the global community.

Its arrogant response to international warnings confirms either the insanity and paranoia that have seized the authors of that political philosophy or an overestimation of the power of the Army, which is all that is left at the disposal of Yugoslavia. Its attitude is actually one of claiming the defeat of the international community and its previous activities, as well as the humiliation of the EC and the United States and any other country that has recognized the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The impression remains that no one can do anything to Serbia and that the latter can do anything it wants, at least in what was formerly Yugoslavia.

However, this is merely an appearance. It is obvious that the world is no longer willing to believe any falsehoods issued by the Serbian leadership—above all, by the president of the Republic to the effect that “Serbia is for peace,” and even less so the statement by General Kukanjac, the commander of the forces stationed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that “the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] will not step on even an ant.” This is because such peaceful statements have always been followed by an escalation of military operations and the razing of a city or settlement to the ground, as was the case with Visegrad, following the familiar Kukanjac statement. The ultimatum that was issued by the CSCE to Serbia and the JNA to end military operations by the 29th of the month or be excluded from the international community, synchronized with similar ultimatums issued by the EC and the United States, nonetheless speak of the seriousness with which international factors and forces are reacting to the latest escalations and military demonstrations of

this policy. The United States, which in the war in Croatia showed a certain amount of restraint, has now quite openly and sharply condemned the "Serbian authorities, the JNA, and its allies in Bosnia-Herzegovina for their aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina." At the same time, the global democratic public widely condemned the militant policy, and the great world press qualified Milosevic as the "butcher of the Balkans" (THE NEW YORK TIMES).

In other words, such a political philosophy is quite well known because it has frequently been seen on the historical stage and has led to numerous tragedies for mankind. It was on the basis of a similar policy that Iraq occupied Kuwait, claiming that it was liberating the "age-old Iraqi territory and defending the people from imperialism."

It is not too late to put an end to such destructive action and for the progressive democratic public in Serbia, the opposition parties, and, above all, those with a democratic and peace-loving leaning, the intellectuals, and the popular masses, to become involved. Indeed, the citizens of that Republic are the daily victims of terrible indoctrination by the media, which are entirely in the hands of the authorities. However, other means exist to provide them with information so that they will eventually realize that the entire world cannot be the culprit and Serbia is in the right. Unless this is realized, Serbia will become the most isolated country in the world, more isolated than Iraq was.

Montenegro

President Encouraged by Brussels Meeting

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[Text] Podgorica, 6 May (TANJUG)—Upon his return from the conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels, the president of the Montenegrin Presidency, Momir Bulatovic, assessed as the most important fact at today's 12th session of the conference on Yugoslavia the united appearance of the Serbian and Montenegrin delegations as the delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

This fact was acknowledged with a remark that we still are awaiting a definite stand on the new Yugoslavia by our colleagues—from Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia—who are likely to make negative comments, Bulatovic said. He stressed that most of the conference was devoted to the activities and measures contributing to peace and the stabilization of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The results achieved by expert teams in connection with the balance sheet of the division and with succession also were summed up and they seem encouraging. For this reason, in Bulatovic's words, we can expect that the conference on Yugoslavia will end soon. Bulatovic expressed conviction that after the 12th session of the conference we are closer to an all-embracing solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia.